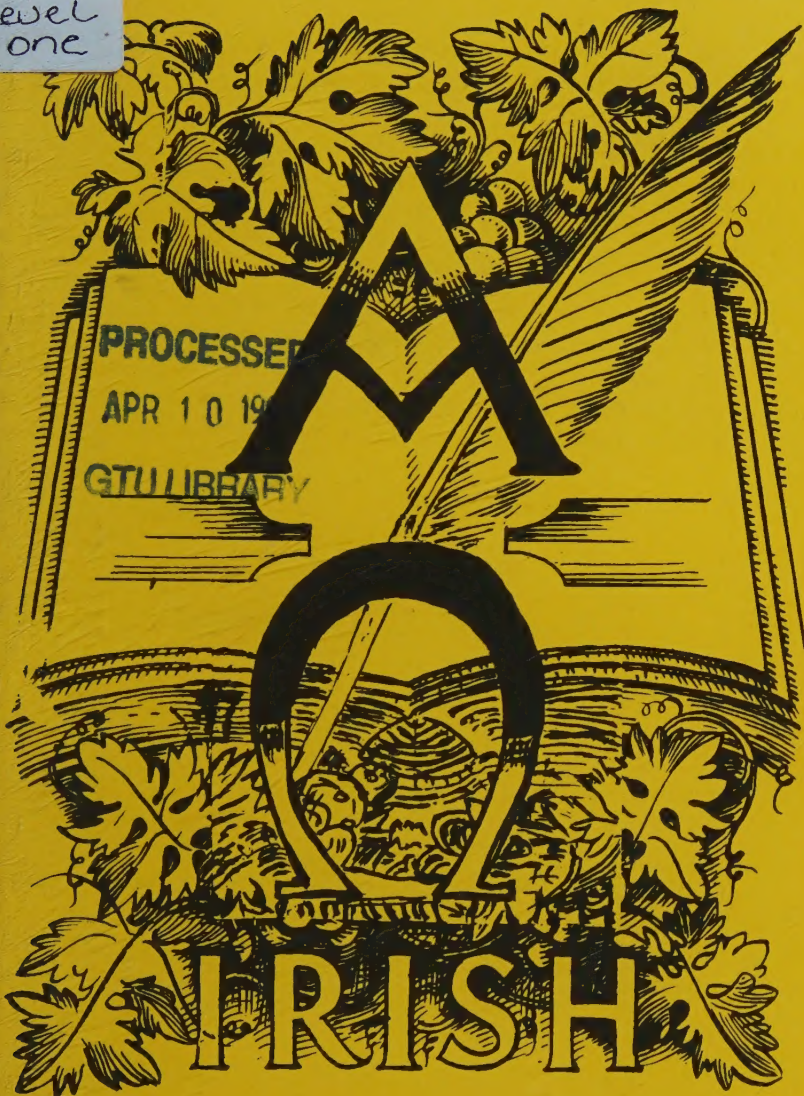


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 Studies" and addressed to the Editor.

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CONTENTS

R. Buick Knox	John Henry Newman	154-169
John K. Ridgway	"By the Mercies of God ..." Mercy and Peace in Romans 12	170-191
J.C. O'Neill	Review Article: P.M. Casey, <i>From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God</i>	192-198

Book Reviews

Sharon Pace Jeansonne: <i>The Women of Genesis</i> (Clare Amos); Graham N. Stanton, <i>A Gospel for a New People. Studies in Matthew</i> (E. A. Russell); William S. Campbell, <i>Paul's Gospel in an Intercultural Context</i> , (J. C. McCullough).	199-204
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JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

R.Buick Knox.

Newman died in 1891. During his life he had many friends and many enemies and he still draws a wide range of verdicts. The Church of Rome has now accorded him the title of Venerable and many hope that this will prove to be a step on the way to his elevation to a place among the canonized saints.

In the New Testament is understood in the Reformed Tradition, all baptised believers are called saints. This status is not due to their own merits but to their justification by grace and by their dependence on Christ whom they seek to trust and follow in this life they are subject to human failings and remain constant debtors to grace. Living and dying in this faith, they remain in the communion of saints and join the great cloud of witnesses whose example and encouragement is still with the saints on earth. Newman was a pilgrim on this way of faith. Recent massive biographies by Sheridan Gilley and Ian Ker present him as a person with human frailties as well as outstanding gifts of intellect and devotional life.

Newman was born in 1801¹. He was baptized in the Church of England where the evangelical emphasis was then in full vigour. He had an early experience of conversion which gave him an abiding love of Christ. It is important to note that at the end of his long life with all its vicissitudes he said he died 'firm in the great and burning truths which I learned when a boy'.² He was steeped in the writings of the Evangelical notables,³ particularly Thomas Scott, the commentator, from whom he learned two abiding lessons, that holiness is more important than peace and that growth is the only evidence of life.

He entered Trinity College, Oxford, and pursued the classical course, but, despite high expectations, he more or less broke down at the time of the final examination and was awarded a third-class degree. However, he soon compensated for this by gaining a Fellowship in Oriel College which at that time was in the lead for learning among the Oxford Colleges. He was then ordained in the Church of England. Shortly afterwards, Hawkins, another Fellow of the College, was elected to be the Provost of the College. He was also the Vicar of St Mary's Church in Oxford; he had to resign from this position upon his appointment as Provost. The vacant position of Vicar was in the gift of Oriel College and Newman was appointed to be the Vicar.

The appointment of one so young was a surprise, but he soon showed remarkable gifts as a preacher. He had a mysterious magnetic presence; he

indulged in no dramatic gestures, no histrionic performances, but his quiet delivery in a silvery voice was audible in all parts of the great church without any amplificatory aids. During the years of his ministry in the Church of England his sermons ranged over ecclesiastical, sacramental, liturgical, ethical and pastoral themes, but the sermons which he himself selected for publication were mainly in the ethical and pastoral fields, *Parochial and Plain Sermons*. He deals with human experiences, hopes, doubts, temptations, fears and aspirations; he enables his hearers to see the workings of their own minds and to analyse the causes and the cure of their restless longings. He brings his hearers and readers to see the glory of Jesus and his power to penetrate their defensive pretences, and also his remedies for their needs. There are moments of deep drama; in one sermon, he takes his readers through the sufferings of Jesus on the Cross as the sufferings of one who shared our afflictions; then, after a pause, he demands, 'Now, I bid you recollect that he to whom these things were done was Almighty God'.³

While he was Vicar, he retained his Oriel Fellowship. His main friends were among the other Fellows. He claimed that his daily conversations with Hawkins taught him to think and to weigh his words and be cautious in his speech. Another Fellow, Whately, was a logician, a man of critical liberal mind and later to be Archbishop of Dublin. Principal R. F. G. Holmes has discovered that Whately's grand-daughter was the wife of an Irish Presbyterian missionary.

These two, Hawkins and Whately, helped to dissolve much of Newman's Fvangelicalism and to lead him to hold that Calvinism, for all its power as one of the finest systematic theologies, did not provide a full clue to the conditions of human beings in this world.⁴

The Church of England, as Newman knew it, perplexed him as it has perplexed and still perplexes many people. He held that, according to its formularies, its members by their Baptism had become beneficiaries of the salvation purchased by Christ. These benefits were not forfeited by neglect or even by sins; members were still entitled to claim their inheritance which linked them to the unbroken chain of the faithful across the ages. Yet, too often, the Church of England looked like a secular society which provided 'a form of outdoor relief for aristocratic unemployables'.⁵

Nevertheless, Newman was convinced that the Church of England had within it a succession of the threefold ministry and of worship and worshippers which was the guarantee that it was in line from the Church Christ had founded. Its bishops had a status which gave authority to their words. He was therefore appalled when Parliament passed the Irish Church Temporalities Bill in 1833.

Many regarded this as the suppression of Irish bishoprics, an act of confiscation by an increasingly secular state, and an act of sacrilege contrary to the wishes of the Church and its bishops.

In fact, the Act provided for the merging of certain dioceses when vacancies occurred, thus reducing the bench from four archbishops and twenty bishops to two archbishops and eight bishops. This was a highly justified policy. The Church of Ireland was established by the state which levied taxes upon all citizens, including Roman Catholics and Presbyterians, for its support. The style of life expected of a bishop raised much resentment among the poor people of Ireland. In any case, ten bishops were sufficient to cope with the pastoral needs of a minority Church. It is also to be noted that after disestablishment in 1869 when the Church of Ireland became responsible for its own affairs no attempt was made to restore the old number on the bench. However, in 1833 the decision was regarded by many as an act of National Apostasy. This was the title given to a sermon preached by John Keble in St Mary's Church; this sermon has generally been regarded as the trigger which led to the formation of the Oxford Movement. Newman claimed that it was one of his own sermons which was the seminal factor. However, as Gilley says, great movements rise from a common history, common memories, an intercourse of mind with mind in the past and an increase of that accord in the present⁶.

The next stage was the gathering of a group of men eager to claim for the Church of England and its ministry a distinct and indissoluble authority from Christ. Among the group which came together was Newman; there was also Keble, a Fellow of Oriel, a brilliant scholar with a Triple First, a peak rarely attained and by such as Gladstone and Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher; there was Pusey, the professor of Hebrew and a scholar well-acquainted with German biblical studies; there was Rose, the vicar of Hadleigh in Essex and later to be the first professor of Divinity in Durham, and his curate, Trench, later to be archbishop of Dublin; there was Perceval, a Fellow of All Souls and a cousin of the Prime Minister; and there was Hurrell Froude, a relation of the historian of that name but of very different outlook. The participants met at Rose's rectory and planned to issue a series of Tracts as a manifesto of their position⁷.

Froude was soon to prove an embarrassment to the Movement by his assertions of affinities with the Church of Rome. However, he was close to Newman and Keble, and when illness led to his early death, Newman and Keble published a collection of his writings as a tribute to his memory. These were so heavily loaded towards the Church of Rome that their publication increased the fear that the Movement was a crypto-papist group within the Church of England⁸.

Newman was still a loyal member of the Church of England. He said it never could be that so large a portion of Christendom should have split off from the communion of Rome and kept up the protest for three hundred years for nothing; 'I think I never shall believe that so much piety and earnestness would be found among Protestants if there were not some very grave errors on the side of Rome'⁹.

Newman wrote the first three Tracts in which he stressed the apostolic order of the Church of England with clergy in direct descent from the Apostles; he compared them with dissenting ministers, who, he said, were creatures of their people. He proceeded to write seventeen out of the first fifty Tracts. He held the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-nine Articles to be the two pillars of the Church of England. This led him to oppose any relaxation of the rule requiring subscription to the Articles as a condition of entry into Oxford University; this would open the way for the entry of Dissenters. Hampden, a Fellow of Oriel led this move; he was a fine scholar, the very model of a Broad Churchman ready to reduce the dogmatic elements of the Faith and to lay stress on the moral aspects. For this reason, Newman tried, but without success, to block Hampden's appointment as Professor of Divinity. Hampden was later appointed by the Prime Minister to be bishop of Hereford; he was consecrated in the teeth of fierce opposition, as was a later bishop, Hensley Henson. He proved to be a tolerant and charitable bishop for twenty years¹⁰.

The differences between him and Newman became a wide gulf, as did his differences with his old liberal friend, Whately. In later years, when Whately was archbishop of Dublin, he visited Oxford and tried to see Newman but he was rebuffed; Newman wrote, 'I cannot conceal from myself that it was generally a relief to me to see so little of Your Grace'; Whately replied with liberal and Christian charity, 'I for my part could not bring myself to find relief in escaping the society of an old friend'¹¹.

Despite Newman's defence of the Articles, he was becoming uneasy about their sharp Protestant outlook and about how they were used as a means of attacking the doctrines of the Church of Rome. This led him to publish his Tract 90 in which he tried to show that the Articles, if properly understood, did not contradict Roman Catholic doctrines; for example, he held that the condemnation of Masses in Article 31 was not a condemnation of the Roman Catholic teaching concerning the Mass but of the abuses which had grown up around the Mass at the time of the Reformation¹². Few people from then till now have been convinced by this interpretation of the Article and when published it aroused a fierce wave of criticism. Francis Close, the notable Evangelical leader

after whom a well-known Cheltenham school is named, said he would not trust the writer of Tract 90 with his purse. Henry Manning, who will soon appear prominently in Newman's story, responded to the Tract in a thundering No-Popery sermon. At Oxford, it was proposed that it should be made clear to all who had to subscribe to the Articles that they did so in the clear Protestant sense understood by the Reformers. This aroused protest from younger figures such as Tait and Maurice who were to become influential leaders in the Church; they said they stood firm on the main points of the Faith set forth in the Articles but they did not bind themselves without question to every ancillary point¹³. The proposal was dropped and thus Newman's Tract assured the survival of the very liberalism he had sought to avoid; thus, the liberal strand has survived in the outlook of Archbishop Michael Ramsey who would have been counted as in the Catholic wing of the Church and in the teaching of Archbishop George Carey who is known as an Evangelical.

When his bishop, Bagot of Oxford, reproved him for issuing the Tract, he began to think that his defence of the Church of England and its bishops had been misplaced and that the Church was not as soundly apostolic as he had thought. He now thought that its teaching on the Person of Christ was close to the old Monophysite heresy which had blurred the truth that Christ was both fully human and divine. So he was now on the way to believing that the only refuge from liberalism, from laxity of doctrine and from Protestant dilution of the Faith was in the Church of Rome. He came to believe that the Faith was a living organism capable of growth and development, so that, while all had to be tested by the basic Scriptures, the early form of the teaching in the Scriptures had to come to maturity; this growth had begun in the decisions of the great Councils of the early centuries and had continued and was continuing in the Church of Rome. Gilley summarises Newman's justification of the claims of the Church of Rome in the statement that 'Truth is the daughter of time and an idea shows itself in what it becomes' and so the teaching of the Church of Rome was the flowering of the good seed sown by Christ and his Apostles.

Nevertheless, Newman never lost the critical stance of the Oxford scholar and he was reluctant to endorse every step in the development which had taken place in the Church of Rome; 'no one has ever surpassed him in tempering the sword of dogma in the fire of doubt.'¹⁴ Hence, even when he made his submission to the Church of Rome he was often uneasy and the Authorities of that Church looked upon him with some uneasiness.

However, the move to Rome was under way and he now held that the Church of Rome, in spite of all its errors and the evils of some of its practices

gave 'scope to feelings of awe, mystery, tenderness and reverence'.¹⁶

He knew the price he would have to pay: the loss of his position as Vicar of St Mary's, the loss of his Fellowship and its privileges, the judgement that his Anglican orders counted for nothing, and the replacing of his Anglican friends and colleagues by a company of Roman Catholics among whom were few people of erudition. Yet, he took the step in 1845 and he was followed by many of his friends, but not by Pusey and Keble. Pusey retained his position in Oxford and the Movement in the Church of England became associated with him; indeed, its followers were now known as Puseyites. Keble gave up his Fellowship to marry and to become the Rector of Hursley in Hampshire. Some felt drawn to follow Newman but in the end decided to remain where they were. One such was a student of Brasenose College who actually left the college and went to Birmingham to make his submission but during the night he pondered his position and then decided to draw back and eventually was ordained in the Church of Ireland. He was William Alexander who became the respected and eloquent Archbishop of Armagh and the husband of Cecil Alexander, the hymn-writer.¹⁷ Another who intended to follow Newman was a young student of Oriel whom Newman had had reason to discipline for not wearing his academic hat but who then became a strong admirer of Newman. He too intended to go to Birmingham to make his submission but he missed the train, then pondered his position and decided to remain where he was. He was Mark Pattison who became the agnostic Broad Churchman and the Rector of Lincoln College.¹⁸

One who did follow Newman was Henry Manning. His move was surprising; he had not associated with the Movement and he had preached strong anti-papal sermons. He was a devoted parish clergyman and was happily married to one of the four Sargent sisters who had all married clergymen. His wife died and with her burial he began to bury all his Anglican past; his journey to Rome was swift and total. He became more Roman than Rome, swept up the ladder of preferment to be the second Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster and the rigid enforcer of Roman Catholic doctrine and discipline. Newman's teaching that the Church's teaching was the outcome of development across the ages was abhorrent to Manning who held that the Church's teaching today is what it had been in the beginning and would always be.¹⁹

Compared with Manning, Newman was an uneasy convert. He was never given a position of authority in the Church of Rome. He began his life in that Church as a devotee of Philip Neri, a sixteenth-century priest who founded an order for priests dedicated to prayer, study, works of charity, and an apostolate to win young men to the faith. This became a widespread order with

local centres known as oratories; their forms of worship gave rise to the musical form known as oratorios. Newman was allowed to form an oratory at Birmingham where he was supported by the bishop, Ullathorne. There were frequent tensions in the house. Faber, a young convert from Anglicanism, was eager to go to the most exotic forms of Roman Catholic devotion, but Newman felt that this would repel the aristocratic youths he was eager to draw into the Church of Rome. Faber was sent to London to found an oratory and he cultivated a lavish baroque form of worship which eventually found expression in the ornate building of Brompton Oratory.²⁰

There were constant tensions between Birmingham and Brompton as Newman tried to curtail Faber's extravagances which make him a rather repellent figure in Protestant eyes. However, it is salutary to remember that Faber wrote the hymn, 'My God, how wonderful Thou art' which has found a place in many hymnbooks and is sung by all varieties of Christians.

The hierarchy scarcely knew how to cope with Newman. No bishop was willing to give him the scope to use his obvious gifts. He would have liked to go to Oxford to found an oratory or a college where Roman Catholic students could take advantage of the University to which entry was now possible because the requirement to subscribe to the Articles had been removed. However, the bishops were firmly opposed to such a move; they held that such a college, instead of drawing converts into the Church of Rome as Newman hoped, would be a centre where young Roman Catholics would be lured from the faith by the liberal spirit of Oxford. Many of the laity wanted their sons to have the opportunity of an Oxford education but they supported Newman in vain.²¹

Newman's path now opened up in a different direction. In Ireland, Cardinal Cullen, the Archbishop of Armagh, in what would now be regarded as a strange move, was appointed to be the Archbishop of Dublin. In Dublin, he planned to found a new university on a Roman Catholic basis and as a counterbalance to the ancient Trinity College. In 1851 he offered the Presidency of the new foundation to Newman. Newman accepted but it proved to be an unhappy period in his life. The venture of founding the college had not the full support of the laity, many of whom wanted to cooperate with the government's plan for colleges in Cork, Galway and Belfast, but Cullen wanted an institution under Church control. If the venture was to succeed it needed the hearty accord of Cullen and Newman. This broke down for two reasons. Newman wanted to retain his position in the oratory in Birmingham and to be in Dublin only during term time, but Cullen rightly felt that the institution in its infancy needed a full-time president to organise and publicise the venture. More seriously, Newman

insisted that appointments should go to the most qualified applicants but many of these were English laymen. Cullen was very critical when Newman proposed to appoint Thomas Arnold as Professor of English. Cullen felt that this diluted his ideal of a catholic university. After three years, Newman resigned and brought this troubled chapter of his life to an end. His experiences, however, led him to produce what turned out to be one of his most influential writings, The Idea of a University. In this work, he held that the Christian tradition flowing from Jerusalem could not and ought not to ignore the Greek intellectual inheritance from Athens. A university had a duty not only to hand on the accumulated knowledge from the past but also to cultivate the mind to think and to ponder upon that inheritance and to expand the fields of knowledge.

At this time the status of the Papacy was becoming a matter of public interest. The power of the Pope over the papal patrimony or estates was being severely curbed by the rising nation of Italy which in 1850 became a monarchy. With the curbing of the temporal power of the Pope there was a parallel expansion of the moral and ecclesiastical claims; these reached their height in the declaration of papal infallibility at the Vatican Council in 1870. This was not welcome to Newman; he held that the trend to give the Pope the power to define the faith by his own fiat without any consultation with the laity could lead to indifference or superstition. There were rumours that Newman was so uneasy that he was contemplating a return to the Church of England. This he sharply denied: 'Protestantism is the dreariest of possible religions; the thought of the Anglican service makes me shiver, and the thought of the Thirty-nine Articles makes me shudder. Return to the Church of England! No! The net is broken and we are escaped'.²³ Nevertheless, his discomfort remained; in 1862, he told Manning, in a rare moment of confiding in the papal zealot, that he found in his new Church 'very little but desert' and that 'all his human affections were with those he had left'. In 1863 he confided to his diary that as a Protestant he had felt his religion dreary but not his life, but as a Catholic the life was dreary but not the religion. At another time he said that as a Catholic he had been rewarded in ten thousand ways, but God had also marked his course with unintermittent mortification.²⁴

As the issue of papal infallibility came more and more to the fore, Newman became more uneasy. He was ready to accept and obey the commands of the Pope and the bishops but this, in his eyes, did not mean that he was obliged to agree that these commands were always right or that every papal declaration could be equated with the voice of God, especially if they conflicted with the rights of conscience. Newman often appeared elusive; if the voice of conscience was the final authority, then no other authority could be infallible; on the other hand, conscience could be an erroneous guide and often needed to be

corrected by an outside authority. What, then, was his final authority? The accusation of duplicity had driven him to write his *Apologia* which has been rated as one of the outstanding personal confessions. Nevertheless, the suspicion of duplicity remained and Charles Kingsley accused him of not caring for the truth. In reply, Newman wrote his *Grammar of Assent*. In this he held there were two types of propositions; there were propositions which were statements of fact which could be observed and tested and to which there could be ready assent; there were other propositions about matters of faith and morals which could not be measured but which had a compelling power demanding the assent of mind and spirit. Thus, when Paul says 'I know', he is sometimes referring to events or deeds in the past, but at other times to experiences which have changed his whole attitude to life and to God, and which have come from God and are beyond reason and experience. Even here, Newman admits there are difficulties; throughout history, there have been claims that certain experiences have been from God but they may have been the basis of crude superstitions against which the voice of conscience has at last rebelled; the voice of conscience has by times had to reject papal claims that their commands have come from God.²⁵

These thoughts were the ground of his objection to the declaration of papal infallibility by the 1870 Vatican Council. He held that under the lobbying pressure of Manning the Council had been stampeded into the decision. He himself had refused to attend the Council as a 'peritus', a scholarly adviser. By the time the vote was taken, eighty bishops had already left the Council and only two ventured to vote against the decisions. Newman held that the Church should have been left in peace and not be burdened by a decision so hard to justify in the light of the past record of papal evil deeds and misjudged manifestoes. Even the limitation of the decree to matters of faith and morals was a hazy boundary since there are few things in life which somehow or other have no connection with faith or morals.²⁶ However, once the decree had been issued Newman accepted it and took no part in the breakaway movement associated with the German scholar, Dollinger. Manning had no qualms about accepting the full range of infallibility.

Newman was restrained from criticising the decree because of his fear that such criticism would be taken as an approval of the liberal spirit which asked people to come to terms with scientific progress, fresh scholarship and the democratic principle. He held there was still need of a teacher with Apostolic authority, not to declare novelties but to make clear the teaching already deposited in the original Apostolic teaching. He held that this duty was rightly vested in the person of the Pope. Yet, even here, he had to make a qualification. He thought that Pius IX, under whom the decree had been promulgated, was

unlikely to produce such guidance: 'It is not good for a Pope to be Pope for twenty years; he bears no good fruit; he becomes a god with no one to contradict him'.²⁸

The only decrees promulgated under the decree and made matters of faith have been the two on the Immaculate Conception of Mary and her bodily Assumption into heaven. No convincing evidence, in my view, has been produced to show that these doctrines are taught or implicit in the New Testament or in the early teaching of the Church. Their adoption by the Church of Rome has tended to widen the gulf between that Church and the Churches of the Reformation.²⁹

The Vatican was so uneasy about Newman's reservations that it drew up a list of points on which he was worthy of censure. It sent the list to his bishop, Ullathorne, to bring to Newman's notice. Ullathorne replied that if the Vatican wished to censure Newman it could do so itself, but he warned that if it did so it would unite all English Roman Catholics behind Newman. There the matter rested.³⁰

Newman was now a venerated public figure. He was made the first honorary Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford; when he attended a celebratory dinner he sat at the President's right hand and on his own right hand was Mark Pattison. He called on Pusey. He had visited Keble and he now visited his memorial College. The Duke of Norfolk began the process leading to Newman's elevation to be a Cardinal. Manning had this at least to his credit that he supported the move, paying tribute to Newman's learning, piety and integrity. Newman pled his eighty years of age for his reluctance to accept, and some, possibly including Manning, took this to mean refusal, but in the end he accepted the offer.³¹

His last years were spent more or less in retirement. He tried to end the rift with his family. He went to Wales to see his sick brother Charles, but he turned him away; he had become an advocate of socialism and atheism. His sister, Harriet, maintained her refusal to receive him into her house, but he met her daughter a few days before he died.

When he offered to visit Mark Pattison on his death-bed, Pattison excused himself from receiving him on the ground of illness, but Newman did visit him and they recalled their days at Oriel College. Newman spoke of the comfort he had found in the catholic faith, but Pattison died in the bitterness of his agnosticism, though in his last diary entries he noted that he had learned

more from Newman than from anyone he had ever known.³²

Newman died one hundred years ago. Manning was moved to speak at his funeral of 'my brother and friend of more than sixty years'; age and death had covered the rivalry and fear with which he had regarded and treated Newman.³³

Newman also evoked respect and awe in unexpected quarters. The great Scottish Free Church figure, Alexander Whyte, wrote a short monograph on Newman and even went to see him in the Birmingham oratory, though it seems Newman was away when he called.³⁴ Lord Reith tells of his father's book-lined study with shelves from floor to ceiling only broken by spaces for the door, the window, the fireplace and a space above the fireplace for a picture, and the picture was one of Newman whom he revered.³⁵ Another Free Church minister and literary figure, Robertson Nicoll, said Newman 'died, as he had lived, with the humility and trust and sweetness of a child'.³⁶ None of these Free Church figures could be suspected of a Romeward trend, yet they respected him for his sharing so much it of the common faith and for his ability to express it in memorable language with profundity of thought and penetration into the world of the spirit.

His hymn, 'Lead, kindly Light' has become part of the inheritance of English language and hymnology. His poem, *The Dream of Gerontius*, puts into splendid words his vision of the entry of the Christian into heaven; it has also provided the Church with two fine hymns, 'Praise to the holiest in the height' and 'Firmly I believe and truly'. This second hymn is a metrical version of the Creed; as printed in *Church Hymnary* (3rd. Ed. ,1960) it has the verse -

And I hold in veneration,
for love of him alone,
Holy Church as his creation
and her teaching as his alone.

This may seem to accord to Church decisions a divine authority not readily given in Presbyterian Churches; it is interesting to note that this verse is omitted from the recent edition of an English Roman Catholic hymnbook.

Elgar's setting of the poem has become part of the standard repertoire of oratorios in English. Simon Rattle, a notable conductor and interpreter of the work, has said that the chorus of demons is repulsive, though that is likely what Elgar meant it to be. The overall impact of the work is outstanding.³⁷

Finally, reference must be made to Newman's teaching on the place of Scripture in the Church. He knew his Bible, constantly referred to it and spoke of it as 'God's inspired Word'. He held the Bible to be the indispensable seed-bed from which the Church's teaching had come, but he also held that from the first the Bible had been in the keeping of the Church which had shown the meaning of the Word in the Bible; indeed, the Church had taught that Word even before the Bible was compiled and the Church would have handed on that Word even if the Bible had never been written. The Church, through its Magisterium embodied in the Pope, guarantees that the Bible and the Faith of the Church are in accord. Newman claimed that he had resisted the spirit of liberalism which had tried to make subjective individual judgements the standard of decision as to what is of the Faith. It needs to be noted that in other traditions there is also a recognised need for some standard of interpretation to preserve the Church from sinking in individual subjective sands; this role is attributed to such standards as the Westminster Confession of Faith, the Thirty-nine Articles, the Heidelberg Catechism, the Augsburg Confession and other documents.

Philip Griffin, in a recent issue of the *Irish Theological Quarterly*, claims that Newman's position has been confirmed by the decisions of Vatican II and he gives the impression that this has marked a liberating advance in the Roman Catholic position.³⁸

Euphoric verdicts that the decisions of Vatican II mark a great advance from the decrees of the Council of Trent and of Vatican I are, in my opinion, somewhat overdone. It is indeed splendid to read that the canonical Scriptures are defined as the basic tradition by which the Church and its teaching are nourished and ruled, and there is also the fine declaration that 'access to Sacred Scripture ought to be open wide to the Christian faithful'. This was a fresh beginning, since, as Ker declares, before the Council 'religious liberty was not even explicitly or officially recognised by the Catholic Church as either desirable or permissible'.³⁹ This decree undid many of the edicts condemning the reading of the Bible which marred the record of the Church of Rome. Acting on this freedom, Roman Catholic biblical scholars in Universities have pursued their studies with the same academic rigour and critical study as other scholars.

However, Vatican II also emphasised that all interpretations of Scripture are still subject to the judgement of the Church and, while all preaching should be 'nourished and ruled by Sacred Scripture', all that is preached must also be in accord with 'Sacred Tradition'. The Church's judgement upon interpretations of Scripture and Tradition is expressed through the Magisterium of the Pope who has a divinely-given commission to so judge.⁴⁰ Some Roman Catholic scholars

have found that the Magisterium can attempt to silence them and their teaching.

Those in the Reformed tradition are mindful that in the Medieval Church, when its authority was at its height, there was often little sign of serious obedience to Scripture. The renewal came when people began to study the Bible in defiance of authority and to compare the teaching of the Bible with the teaching and practice of the Church. On the other hand, the rebellion against papal authority did not mean renunciation of all the tradition of teaching hammered out across the centuries. The Reformers never said they were abandoning all that teaching and starting from scratch to find out what the Bible taught. They began with the great doctrines already defined in the early Councils of the Church at Nicea, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon. This was particularly true of the great doctrine of the Trinity which was not explicitly defined in the Bible but was gradually defined as Christians worshipped and prayed, as they studied the Bible and as they tried to understand the character of God and his revelation of himself in Jesus Christ. The path to the definition of the doctrine of the Trinity was rough and tortuous, but once it was defined it proved to be the reliable key to the understanding of the Bible. The God of the Bible is most clearly approached when we worship him as Father, Son and Holy Spirit. The Reformers never questioned the reliability of this key; they laid it down as the framework of their systems of theology and of worship; they were confident that it enabled them to apprehend the richness of God's glory in so far as human beings may grasp that glory. It still remains the key at the heart of the constitutions of Reformed Churches not simply due to ecclesiastical decisions but also because of its convincing appeal to Scripture, Reason and Conscience.⁴¹

Newman is often hailed as an ecumenical thinker; this is an elastic term but it is debatable whether or not it is elastic enough to cover Newman. Lord Acton, a fellow-Roman Catholic, was probably rather severe when he declared Newman to be an egoist and a sophist who could manipulate the truth to suit his own definition, but, judging from his controversies, and especially his war of words with Charles Kingsley, there is enough truth in the verdict to make it a strand in the total picture of Newman.⁴² Chadwick admits that at times there is in Newman 'a jumble of twisted dialectic about historical evidence' which is repellent and reveals a sceptical streak.⁴³

Gilley judges Newman to have been the greatest of modern English theologians and to have shown that there is no contradiction between new truths and the truth once delivered to the saints, but there is no guarantee that what Gilley calls new truth and the truth once delivered to the saints would be the same in every person's definition⁴⁴. Moreover, even if it be accepted that he

held the two to be compatible, his teaching did not make any lasting contribution to show how this compatibility could be worked out in the current controversies of his day concerning biblical studies, scientific discoveries and theories, and philosophical theories. Chadwick holds that before long many of the ideas of the Oxford Movement became obsolete, but its lasting influence and that of Newman was felt through their pastoral and devotional practice.⁴⁵ The Church of England, in all the strands of its life and worship, came under its influence. That influence is still part of its life.

The fact that major tomes and minor articles continue to be written about Newman by writers from many denominations of the Church and to find readers in an equally wide circle shows the stature of the man. He had a faith in Christ which has surely taken him beyond this life into the Light where he will have seen the strengths and weaknesses of many of his actions and arguments and where he needs no human canonisation to ensure his eternal rest.

Pray we that we with him may come to that Light in which we shall see the fulness of the glory which outshines all our earthly glimpses of the glory which is in Christ Jesus Christ our Lord.

NOTES

1. Many books have been written on the life and work of Newman.
Among these may be noted:
O. Chadwick, *The Mind of the Oxford Movement* (London, 1960);
O. Chadwick, *Newman* (O.U.P., 1983);
Sheridan Gilley, *Newman and his Age* (London, 1990);
Ian Ker, *John Henry Newman* (O.U.P., 1988);
Brian Martin, *John Henry Newman* (London, 1990)
In addition to Newman's own works, there is the collection of his *Letters and Diaries*, edited by C.S. Dessain (31 vols., Oxford)
2. Gilley, 421; Chadwick sees a continuity of piety through the Evangelical and Oxford Movements - *Mind of the Oxford Movement* 27.
3. Gilley, 126; Martin, 41. Newman's more doctrinal sermons have now come to light and are being published: *John Henry Newman: Sermons 1824-1843* (Vol.i: Sermons on the Liturgy and Sacraments and on Christ the Mediator: Ed. Placid

- Murray, 1992).
4. Gilley, 24, 50.
5. Gilley, 80
6. Ker, 80; Gilley, 112
7. Many of these Tracts were extensive and learned volumes rather than brief booklets. See also the section on the Movement in O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church* (London, 2 vols, 1966-70)
8. Gilley, 121; Chadwick, *Mind of the Oxford Movement*, 53
9. Ker, 226
10. H.H.Henson, *Retrospect of an Unimportant Life* (O.U.P., 1942), I.,ch. VII.
11. Gilley, 132
12. Gilley, 198-200; Chadwick, *Mind*, 24-5
13. Gilley, 183, 21b, 227; Chadwick, *Mind*, 35
14. Gilley, 232.
15. Gilley, 175
16. Gilley, 202
17. Gilley, 244
18. V.H.H.Green, 'Cardinal Newman, Mark Pattison and the Oxford Movement' in *Essays in Honour of Edward B. King*, ed. R.G.Benson and Eric W.Naylor University of the South, Sewanee, 1991), pp.109-124.
19. Gilley, 241
20. Gilley, 258-263, 285-6.
21. Gilley, 336-338, 348-351.
22. Gilley, 267, 275-291.
23. Gilley, 314; Ker, 509, also 657.
24. Gilley, 314; Ker, 520.
25. Gilley, 355-362; Ker, 690
26. Gilley, 363-370; Martin, 122-3.
27. Gilley, 377-8; Ker, 658.
28. Ker, 659
29. R.B.Knox, 'Continuity and Controversy' in *Journal*, United Reformed History Society, Oct. 1990, Vol. 4, No. 7.
30. Gilley, 380.
31. Gilley, 390-7; Martin, 129-131.
32. V.H.H.Green, op.cit.; Gilley, 410-1.
33. Gilley, 422.
34. G.F.Barbour, *Alexander Whyte*
35. J.C.W.Reith, *Into the Wind*

- 36. W. R. Nico11, *Princes of the Church* (1921), 28-33.
- 37. Gilley, 340.
- 38. P.Griffin, 'Newman's Thought on Church and Scripture' in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, 1990, Vol.56, no.4, 287-302.
- 39. Vatican II: *The conciliar and Post-conciliar Documents*, ed A.Flannery(1975), Section 58 Dogmatic constitution of the Divine Revelation, 756, 762; Ker, 474
- 40. Vatican Council, op.cit..
- 41. E.g. United Reformed Church Declaration of Faith; Rule of Faith of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland; Articles Declaratory of the Church of Scotland.
- 42. Gilley,
- 43. Chadwick, Mind , 42
- 44. Gilley, 422-3
- 45. Chadwick, Mind, 48, 59.

R. Buick Knox.

"By the Mercies of God . . ."--
Mercy and Peace in Romans 12

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ABSTRACT

In Romans 12 Paul employs three key terms which play prominent roles in his moral exhortations to the Roman Christian community comprised of Gentile and Jewish Christians. The terms are ἔλεος/οἰκτιρισμός("mercy") and εἰρήνη ("peace"). Paul's appeal to "the mercies of God" in 12:1 arises from preceding discourses in the letter about mercy and peace in God's dealings with humankind. And Paul's admonitions in 12:1-2 concerning mercy and "spiritual" renewal serve as foundations for his prescriptions for acts of mercy and peaceable living in 12:8 and 12:18. In Paul's ethical exhortations for the Roman community, peace and mercy are intimately related. Merciful acts foster peaceful living, while peaceable conduct is to issue forth in merciful deeds. Such irenic and compassionate behavior is a concrete manifestation of Paul's appeal for "spiritual" worship, renewal of minds, and the pursuit of what is perfect based upon God's mercies in 12:1-2.

Romans 12 presents the modern reader with questions about the significance of the terms ἔλεος/οἰκτιρισμός("mercy") and εἰρήνη ("peace") used there. In 12:1 Paul appeals to members of the Christian community in Rome in the name of "the mercies [οἰκτιμῶν] of God." To which "mercies of God" is Paul referring here? Then in verse 8 he encourages those who have the special charism for ἐλεῶν ("showing mercy") to do so with cheerfulness. Finally, in verse 18 Paul exhorts community members insofar as possible to "live peaceably [εἰρηνεύοντες] with all." From these passages four questions emerge: First, what do "mercy" and "peace" mean when employed by Paul in the first-century Mediterranean world? Second, is there a demonstrable connection between "the mercies of God" in 12:1, "showing mercy" in 12:8, and God's mercy in the adjacent context of chapters 9-11? Third, what precisely is the relationship between "mercy" and "peace" in Romans 12? Lastly, is Paul's prescription for irenic living in 12:18 absolute or conditional? These questions have not received sufficient attention in modern scholarship. Much more remains to be done to explore the actual connection between "mercy" and "peace" in Romans 12, and in the entire NT. It is hoped that this essay will advance that project in a useful way.

The foregoing questions are urgent because two issues are at stake. The

first is the unity and the honor of the Christian community in Rome according to the gospel which Paul proclaims to it (Rom 1:1-6, 9, 16). The second issue is one which has been of considerable import within the Judeo-Christian tradition, and indeed among humans throughout history: how to achieve compassionate and irenic relations among people. These issues are particularly germane to the church in Rome which at the time of Paul's writing consisted of Gentile Christians and Jewish Christians. It appears that tensions were high between these groups, especially regarding worship and eating practices (see Rom 14:1-15:12). Gentile Christians, who did not subscribe to the Mosaic law, displayed arrogance toward their Jewish counterparts and deprecated them for their adherence to the law and for the disobedience of the Jewish people in their relationship with God (Rom 11:1-32). Conversely, Jewish Christians impugned Gentile believers for advocating the law-free gospel.

The thesis of this essay is that showing "mercy" and promoting "peace" are two interpenetrating facets of Paul's ethical teaching. They form two sides of the one coin of the apostle's moral appeal. This thesis will be developed in three stages: (I) an overview of the meanings of "mercy" and "peace" in the NT, (II) a survey of the links between Rom 12:1 and its surrounding context in the epistle, and (III) an examination of Rom 12:1-2, 8, and 18, with attention to the sociological factors within the first-century Mediterranean world that impact an understanding of the letter.

I

Mercy and Peace in the NT

To understand the significance of "mercy" and "peace" in Romans, it is helpful to begin with a brief examination of the meanings of these expressions in the NT. The closely related Greek terms οἰκτιρμός and ἔλεος.¹ οἰκτιρμός denotes "compassion, mercy, and pity." ἔλεος means "mercy and compassion." The derivative verbs of ἔλεος are ἐλεῖω and ἐλεῶ, meaning to be merciful or show kindness. Mercy denotes the divinely mandated attitude of Christians toward each other.² It signifies loving kindness and sympathy which are to be exhibited in relationships, particularly by concrete deeds of assistance and relief to the needy (cf. Matt 9:13; Luke 10:37; Rom 12:8).

The Greek word εἰρήνη denotes peace and harmony. Its derivative verb εἰρηνεύω signifies to live or be at peace, or to keep the peace. In the NT εἰρήνη has two primary meanings.³ First, it refers to a condition of peace and rest, denoting a normal state of one's entire being and of all things in

the universe corresponding to the will of God (e.g., see 1 Cor 14:33). This divinely willed state includes Christians' well-being and their concord with God, one another, and all humans (Rom 5:1; Eph 4:1-3; Heb 12:14; Mark 9:50). Secondly, εἰρήνη designates the final salvation of the whole person. In Luke, Zechariah proclaims this expected salvation in 1:76-79, and the angels' song in 2:14 refers to salvation which has come to the earth (cf. Heb 13:20).⁴ Being justified by faith, believers have peace and reconciliation with God through Christ and will be granted salvation (Rom 5:1, 9-10; 2 Cor 5:16-19).⁵

II

The Links between Rom 12:1 and Its Context

Having treated some of the meanings of ἔλεος, οἰκτιρμός and εἰρήνη in the NT, we turn now specifically to Romans. To understand properly the context of Paul's use of mercy in chapter 12, we shall examine some of the connections between 12:1 and what precedes and follows it in the epistle.

The Links between 12:1 and Chapters 9-11

In 12:1 Paul commences with "I exhort you therefore, brothers and sisters, by the mercies [οἰκτιρμῶν] of God" In this clause the Greek particle οὖν ("therefore") links (a) what follows in verses 1-2, also in 12:3-21, with (b) what precedes 12:1.⁶ According to its usage here, the particle signifies that what is enunciated in what follows flows expressly from and is based upon what has preceded it, most directly in chapters 9-11.⁷

Grammatically, the use of οὖν in 12:1 makes it logical to assert that οἰκτιρμῶν ("mercies") in the same verse refers back to antecedent material also dealing with God's mercy. The closest preceding referents are ἐλεῶ in 11:32, 31, 30, and ἔλεος in 11:31. In these verses Paul speaks about God's mercy relative to the disobedience of Gentiles and Jews. This discussion relates to the preceding discourse about God's mercy in chapter 9 which employs ἔλεος in v 23; ἐλεῶ in vv 18, 15; ἐλεῶ in v 16; and οἰκτίρω in v 15. ἐλεῶ and οἰκτίρω in 9:15 mark the first use of these terms in Romans. Hence, it is reasonable to claim on grammatical and thematic grounds that οὖν and οἰκτιρμῶν in 12:1 refer back to the sections from 11:36 to 9:15 which address God's plan of salvation and exercise of mercy.⁸ Thus, 12:1-2 serves as a fulcrum on which are balanced on one end that which precedes it directly in chapters 9-11--plus 5:1, 10-11--and on the other end that which follows it in 12:3-21.

A key text in which Paul speaks of justification and peace, and which provides a foundation for the upcoming discussion of mercy and peace in chapter 12, is Rom 5:1, 10-11. So, we turn now to a brief examination of those verses.

Peace and Mercy in Rom 5:1, 10-11

Rom 5:1 contains two closely related Pauline expressions: δικαιωθέντες ("Having been justified") and εἰρήνην ("peace"). The clause εἰρήνην ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν θεόν ("we have peace with God") in 5:1 expresses the theme of the section that those who have been justified by faith and who thus stand rightly before God have peace with God "through our Lord Jesus Christ" (5:1).⁹ This idea parallels that of 5:10, "For if while we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son, much more surely, having been reconciled, will we be saved by his life." Here the verb "reconciled" (καταλλάσσω) means to put (someone) into a right relationship or into friendship with God. The association of the forensic terms "justification" and "reconciliation" in this context indicates here that by its very nature God's justification entails reconciliation. The reason is that between God and sinners there exists a personal relationship. Consequently, by having justified sinners who then stand in a right relationship with God, God also gave God's very self to them through Christ in friendship and intimacy. In this way God established peace with them in a manner consistent with divine love and mercy. As we shall see, this justification and peace become the foundations for Christians' exercise of mercy and peace in Romans 12.

Having examined the connections between Rom 12:1-2; chapters 9-11; and 5:1, 10-11, we conclude Part II of this study by surveying briefly the relationship between Rom 12:1-2 and the exhortations following it in chapter 12. The purpose of this survey is twofold. First, it points out the connection between 12:1-2 and what flows from it. Secondly, it situates Paul's instructions about mercy and peace within the broader context of the ethical section of the chapter.

The Link between Rom 12:1-2 and 12:3-21

The assertion that 12:1-2 comprises an introductory link to the remainder of the chapter rests on the correlation between οἰκτιρμῶν in 12:1-2, ἐλεῶν ("showing mercy") in 12:8, and εἰρηνεύοντες ("live peaceably") in 12:18.¹⁰ The particle οὖν and the οἰκτιρμῶν in 12:1 indicate that for Paul Christian ethics in Romans 12 arise as responses to the merciful actions of God depicted in chapters 9-11 and recapitulated in 12:1-2. In chapter 12 Paul exhorts a proper use of gifts in the community (vv 3-8), a

cultivation of love and zeal (vv 9-13), and a fostering of reconciliation and peace toward all (vv 14-21). These prescriptions address the actual situation of Paul and the Roman church which was torn by tensions between its Gentile Christians and Jewish Christians.¹¹

III

An Examination of Rom 12:1-2, 8, 18

Having completed an overview of ἔλεος, οἰκτιρμός and εἰρήνη in Romans, we begin now with an examination of Rom 12:1-2. It is crucial at the outset to point out that modern NT readers are separated from the world of Paul both temporally and culturally. We live nearly two millennia after him in a modern Western society radically different from that of Mediterranean people in the first century CE. Consequently, we have a fundamentally dissimilar world view from Paul's. To be aware of this fact is important for two reasons. First, it helps avoid a value-based bias by which we might project our modern Western perspectives and values onto the language and concepts of the NT. Second, an awareness of the social system in the world of Paul allows us to draw more accurate conclusions about the meanings he likely associated with such terms as "mercy" and "peace," which are different from our own. Hence, in the ensuing examination of Romans 12, pertinent facets of Mediterranean society will be treated. These include discussions about the social unit of the group, honor and shame, the nature of religion, the personalized character of life, and the place of emotions in human experience.

In Rom 12:1, Paul describes Christian life using metaphors from the sacrificial cult. The infinitive παραστήσαι ("to present") is a technical, ritualistic term denoting "to offer" as an act of sacrifice (θυσίαν).¹² That which is offered to God is τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν ("your bodies"). σώματα here denotes whole persons who are summoned to lead holy lives in relation to God and others.¹³ Offering "bodies" as a sacrifice means habitually surrendering one's entire self, understood socially, into the power and possession of God.¹⁴ Paul's appeal in Rom 12:1-2 is not concerned with *individual* spiritual development or a personal relationship with God. Rather, his exhortations are *social*: they presuppose relationships with others, either community members or outsiders. This appeal must be understood in the context of a biblical culture where (1) persons were socially embedded within and defined by the group(s) to which they belonged, and (2) religion was a social phenomenon. To comprehend more clearly these cultural traits and their impact on Romans 12, we turn now to a brief examination of each.

First, in the Mediterranean world, groups were based on kinship (family), ethnic affairs, politics, and power.¹⁵ Among these, kinship was the central institution of social organization: the kinship group was the nucleus of personal loyalty that exercised dominant influence over individual self-awareness and identity. Stability was grounded in the community, a unified body of persons sharing common interests, values, and activities.¹⁶ Hence, the most basic unit of social analysis was not the individual, but the dyadic person who was constantly in relation with and attached to at least one other social unit.¹⁷ Individual consciousness was subdued relative to the predominance of social consciousness and group needs. Behavioral controls and morals derived not from individual conscience, but from the social situation.

Second, Mediterranean religion, like other social phenomena, was embedded in kinship and/or politics.¹⁸ First and foremost, membership in a faith community was based not explicitly on religious relationships, but on antecedent bonds of kinship that gave structure to religious associations. Membership in religious groups was involuntary or voluntary. Involuntary members belonged to a religion because, for example, they were born into a particular family. Voluntary membership derived from deliberate choice and resulted in a fictive kinship group. The Christian community in Rome, consisting of both Jews and Gentiles, was of the latter type. Religion attempted to preserve the honor of the group(s) in which religion was embedded. "Conversion" arose from the influence of kinship (e.g., marriage, adoption, or group affiliation) and enhancement of honor. It did not derive from individual psychological decision-making or abstractions such as "truth" or "goodness." Awareness of the social nature of persons and religion helps one view Paul's exhortations in Rom 12:1-2 from a decidedly social perspective. It also aids in understanding that the apostle's admonitions there aim at promoting strong (honorable) community relations, religious practice, and social identity.

Paul continues his line of thought in Rom 12:1 by asserting that the sacrifice (θυσίαν) which believers are to offer is equally ζῶσαν ("living"), ἁγίαν ("holy"), and εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ ("acceptable to God"). By surrendering their whole selves communally as "a living sacrifice," Christians experience a novel quality of community life. This quality may be interpreted as a "new life" bestowed by having been justified by faith (5:1), i.e., put into a new and right relationship with God. The adjective "living" suggests not merely that the sacrifice is not executed by the use of dead animals (cf. Heb 9:24-28; 10:12). Rather, it implies that the sacrifice expresses itself in lived behavior and relationships consistent with Paul's ethical instructions which follow in 12:3-21.

A "living" sacrifice is equally "holy." "Holy" here means living a life consecrated to God by exhibiting the divine characteristics revealed to humans.¹⁹ As we have seen and shall see below, such characteristics include mercy and peace.

A living and holy sacrifice is equivalently "acceptable to God" (12:1). This means it is one which God desires and will receive.²⁰ With all its attributes, this sacrifice is λογικὸν ("of the reason, reasonable, spiritual") worship (v 1). λογικὸν here suggests that the ritual is not simply mechanical, carried out by means of external rites. Rather, it is a worship arising from the mind and spirit that expresses the depths of persons' whole, interior selves. For Paul, such continual worship is to become normative in human living. What is implied, and what will be shown further in the discussion of 12:3-21, is that offering "your bodies" in worship necessarily involves practicing in social interactions the qualities associated with genuine sacrifice.

Equally important elements of Paul's exhortation appear in 12:2: (a) καὶ μὴ συσχηματίζεσθε τῷ αἵῳι τοῦτω (verbal present imperative passive, "Stop allowing yourselves to be conformed to this world"), (b) ἀλλὰ μεταμορφοῦσθε (present imperative passive, "but continue to let yourselves be transformed"), (c) ἀνακαινῶσαι τοῦ νοῦς ("by the renewal of your mind"), (d) "so that you may discern [δοκιμάζω] what is the will of God" (τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ), (e) τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον καὶ τέλειον ("what is good and acceptable and perfect"). The present imperatives "stop allowing yourselves to be conformed" and "continue to let yourselves be transformed" mean that the former action which is happening is to cease, while the latter behavior which is already occurring is to continue indefinitely.²¹ What is to persist is the renewal of minds. In addition to meaning "mind," νοῦς here denotes attitudes and ways of thinking as the entire mental and moral state of persons. These attitudes and state are to be transformed so that believers can discern and pursue God's will in a new way. Though Christians still live in the world, they are to know that by God's mercy they simultaneously live a new life. Thus, they must stop complying with the ways of the present age that is passing away. That the attributes "good and acceptable and perfect" in 12:2 issue from the preceding "will of God" indicates that to pursue these qualities of new life is to live in accordance with God's will.

Paul's instructions about the need for renewed minds to discover, and

by implication to accomplish, the will of God and do what is "good and acceptable and perfect" are suitable for the community in Rome.²² Because Gentile Christians there have been incorporated into God's people by God's mercy, their renewal of minds involves a new, respectful acceptance of Jewish traditions within Christianity. It also means honoring the rightful place of Jewish Christians in the Roman church according to the mercy and will of God. To resolve their discord with Jewish Christians constitutes a renewal of perspective by Gentile believers. Likewise, a corresponding acceptance of the Gentiles by Jewish Christians involves renewed attitudes on the part of the latter. This improvement of relations is a concrete example of both groups' viewing and behaving toward each other in a new light by which they are "living," "holy," and "acceptable" in nonconformity to the world. This manner of interacting, which stems from the fictive kinship of the Christian community, strengthens the group's sense of honor and identity over against the outside world. Such conduct is "good and acceptable and perfect" (12:2).

To understand how such interactions contribute to group honor, it is important to consider the notions of honor and shame in the Mediterranean world of the first century CE. In this environment, concern for honor and shame was paramount. The reason was that honor determined social standing and was vital for social cooperation and interdependence. Honor was the public esteem accorded a person or group *by others* whose honor was indisputable.²³ An individual's honor ordinarily depended upon the public esteem bestowed on one's group, which in turn depended upon the honor of the group's leader(s). Shame resulted from a lack or loss of honor. Shame was a defensive position to protect honor. People became shamed when they violated group mores or sought a social status from which public consent was withheld.

Honor could be ascribed or acquired. It was ascribed, for example, by birth into an honorable family or by bestowal from distinguished persons of power. Honor was acquired by surpassing others in social interchanges of challenge and response, a kind of social game in which persons interacted according to accepted rules to win honor from others. Leland White offers this succinct summary:

What is significant in both honor and shame is that public reputation, rather than an internal judgment of conscience, establishes one's sense of self-worth and that *this publicly acknowledged worth is ascribed on the basis of one's associations more than it is individually earned.*²⁴

Within the framework of honor and shame, commitment or belonging was a prime value.²⁵ Attaining results in social encounters arose from appealing to another person's sense of obligation or loyalty to a group. Loyalty was fostered by such internalized sanctions as feelings of shame and disloyalty, or fear of disapproval.

From this picture of the primacy of honor in the social milieu in which Paul was writing, it is easier to appreciate the importance of his admonitions in Rom 12:1-2 relative to the value of community cohesion and adherence to prescribed patterns of Christian conduct in accord with God's will. As will be seen, Paul's exhortations in 12:1-2 about renewal and about acceptable behavior that strengthens community honor and identity can also be interpreted as being linked with the ethical commands the apostle issues in the next section of the epistle, Rom 12:3-21.

Paul's Ethical Admonitions in Rom 12:3-21

The instructions in 12:1-2 for Christians to present their "bodies," i.e., "themselves," as a living, holy, and acceptable sacrifice, and to be transformed so as to do what is good and perfect find concrete social expression in 12:3-21.²⁶ It is important to reiterate that Paul's ethics in 12:3-21 are by their very nature social and communal: their purpose is to foster strong group relations and identity. In verse 3 Paul's authoritative command is addressed emphatically παντὶ τῷ ὄντι ἐν ὑμῖν ("to every one among you"). The conjunction γὰρ ("for") at the beginning of verse 3 expresses a connection between verses 1-2 and 3-21. In other words, what Paul says in 12:3-21 is the logical development and concrete application of his thought in 12:1-2: authentic worship and renewal of minds are to find responsible expression in actual Christian living.

To emphasize this point, Paul employs a social metaphor, "the body of Christ" (vv 4-5; cf. 1 Corinthians 12; Eph 4:12), to describe the union of Christians with each other and with Christ.²⁷ In Rom 12:4-5, Paul declares that Roman Christians "though many, are one body in Christ" (οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν σῶμα . . . ἐν Χριστῷ), "and individually members one of another" (δὲ καθ' εἷς ἀλλήλων μέλη). Here "one body" most probably designates the moral unity of the Christian community deriving from what God has effected for it in Christ.²⁸ The members of this body are to pursue what is good and perfect (Rom 12:2) for the community. Because they constitute "one body in Christ," Roman Christians are to reflect this in their group living. There is a connection in Paul's thought between what God has manifested toward believers--namely justification, mercy, and peace--and what Christians are to practice concretely in

their lives. Paul's placement of his statement that the Roman Christians comprise "one body in Christ" in the context of his preceding and following instructions in verses 3 and 6-21 suggests a positive relationship between these units. That Christians are one body in Christ is to be expressed in the attitudes and actions commanded in 12:3, 6-21 which exemplify such a body. The conduct Paul enjoins here derives from and contributes to the honor of the Christian "body." Paul recognizes the importance of honor in his exhortation: "outdo one another in showing honor" (Rom 12:10). Loyalty to the "body" means practicing loving, peaceful, and merciful attitudes and conduct toward others. By expressing their love for Christ and for one another in this way, community members bind themselves together and reinforce their identity as "one body in Christ." This metaphor is particularly meaningful in a society where publicly accorded honor and self-awareness arise from group associations rather than from individual worth or consciousness.

Paul's Instructions in 12:3-8

The unit 12:3-8 consists of specific ethical commands. In verses 6-8 Paul lists seven *χαρίσματα* ("gifts") of the Spirit to be exercised in the community by those endowed with the respective charisms.²⁹ The seventh *χάρισμα* (v 8b) pertains to *ὁ ἐλεῶν ἐν ἡλασθῆτι* ("the one [masculine] showing mercy in cheerfulness"). The exercise of such mercy is fitting for a community of both Gentile and Jewish Christians who need a reminder that reception of God's mercy entails a mandate that those specially designated are to practice mercy toward others. The one who "shows mercy" in 12:8 refers to the dyadic person(s) whose special function in the community is to care for the sick, aid the poor, and attend to the elderly and infirm in a cheerful manner. These practices of mercy by those specially gifted do not imply that others are exempted from this ministry within their means. Rather, Paul emphasizes the need for this gift by those distinctively designated as its ministers.

For the Christian community in Rome, this mandate pertains especially to the mercy which the Gentiles are to exhibit toward the Jews.³⁰ Appreciation of the importance of this mandate for Paul is heightened by an inquiry into the significance of emotions and the phenomenon of violence in first-century Mediterranean society. Nearly all significant aspects of Mediterranean life were personalized.³¹ What was most important was not "objective" events, but the emotions aroused by those events. The chief focus in communications was interactional. The purpose of communication was to sustain emotional bonds and preserve interpersonal and inter-group relations so as to bind group members together against outsiders and to bolster their sense of identity in order to survive

in an often antagonistic world. Such communication is reflected in Paul's exhortations in Rom 12:1-21 which are based more on emotion-laden thought than on pure intellectual categories.

Moreover, in Mediterranean culture intense expressions of emotion through outbursts of temper, anger, aggression, and violence were socially acceptable.³² Such behavior tended to alternate between the extremes of self-control and paroxysms of aggression. This type of conduct was usually restricted to males who were expected to show their emotions (see Matt 2:16; 9:36; 14:14; 21:15; Mark 1:41; 10:14; Luke 4:28). Hence males, who tended toward sadism and aggressiveness, willingly inflicted suffering on anyone, except other adult males in the same group(s), to attain their goals. Women were extolled, on the one hand, for their virtue of masochism in enduring violence and hostility; but on the other hand they exhibited an exaggerated sense of importance, particularly following marriage and the birth of a son.

In light of this social milieu in which he was writing, Paul's call for merciful acts serves as a countermeasure to challenge and help reduce displays of aggressiveness and pugnacity that are antithetical to cheerful expressions of kindnesses, care for the sick and elderly, and aid to the poor. Conversion to Paul's ethical prescriptions leads to a new sense of group identity and honor no longer predicated on belligerence, sadism, and masochism but on acts of compassion and graciousness. In this respect, Paul's admonitions are particularly important for community leaders from whom the group derives much of its honor in the public eye.

This compassionate conduct means putting into practice Paul's appeal in 12:1-2. Merciful behavior by community members (particularly Gentiles and Jews) is a twofold reality. First, it is a product of Christians' having been made into a holy, living, and acceptable sacrifice--one which God desires and accepts. Secondly, such conduct is evidence of a genuine renewal of minds resulting in transformed perceptions of and behavior toward others. Such perceptions and behavior exemplify "nonconformity" to former types of actions and "ways of the world" defined by discord, aggression, deleterious judgments, reprisals, and violence (Rom 1:18-3:20; 12:14-21; 14:13). These novel patterns of interaction reflect "the will of God, what is good and acceptable and perfect" (12:2).

Paul's Exhortations in 12:14-21

In 12:14-21 Paul continues his ethical commands, this time with regard to the exercise of harmony, reconciliation, and peace toward all, including one's

enemies.³³ In verse 18 he exhorts, εἰ δυνατόν τὸ ἐ' ὑμῶν, μετὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰρηνεύοντες ("If possible, so far as it depends upon you, live peaceably with all" or "keep the peace," cf. Mark 9:50; Matt 5:9). This charge relates to (a) God's preceding conferral of peace and reconciliation in 5:1, 10-11, and (b) Paul's upcoming exhortations in 12:19-21. In addition to denoting putting people into friendship with God and thereby effecting peace between God and humans, the verb καταλλάσσω ("to reconcile") in 5:10 also means to effect reconciliation among human beings themselves. This understanding of "to reconcile" and its resultant "peace" from 5:1, 10-11 can be transferred to the situation in 12:18. Those whom God justified, reconciled, and brought into a relationship of peace (5:1, 10-11) are now enjoined to live out this state of peace and reconciliation within the community by positive, deliberate actions. Such interpretation of 12:18 contributes to the understanding of peace as a divine gift to be actualized in concrete human living.

What Paul specifically means by his charge to "live peaceably" in Rom 12:18 can be determined further by composition analysis. Such analysis refers to studying the context in which this charge is placed in 12:9-21 in order to illuminate its meaning. In this context, to "live peaceably" has to do with loving one another with affection and honor (vv 9-10); being patient in suffering, constant in prayer, and hospitable (vv 12-13); blessing one's persecutors, rejoicing with those who rejoice, weeping with those who weep, living in harmony, and associating with the lowly (vv 14-16); refraining from retaliation and vengeance (vv 17, 19); giving food and drink to enemies (v 20); and overcoming evil with good (v 21). These actions constitute dimensions of peaceful living.

The Issue of Possible Concessional Language in 12:18

The meaning in verse 18 of the qualifier εἰ δυνατόν τὸ ἐ' ὑμῶν ("If possible, so far as it depends upon you" or "for your part") requires inspection. Such inspection shows that this clause does not diminish the essential vigor of Paul's exhortation to peaceable living. The argument is threefold. First, Paul's only other use of εἰ δυνατόν is in Gal 4:15, μαρτυρῶ γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰ δυνατόν τοῦς ὀφθαλμοῦς ὑμῶν ἐξορύξαντες ἐδώκατε μοι ("For I bear you witness that, if possible, you would have plucked out your eyes and given them to me"). εἰ δυνατόν is the sole qualifier here; it is not followed by another concessive utterance as in Rom 12:18. In Galatians the conditional clause emphasizes the unfeasibility of hyperbolic behavior which clearly is not expected literally. Hence, the qualifying

language in Gal 4:15 is employed differently than in Rom 12:18 and cannot properly be interpreted in Romans as diminishing the force of Paul's exhortations about realistic conduct that is literally enjoined.

Secondly, when Paul uses the verb εἰρηνεύω ("to live peaceably") or the noun εἰρήνη in other exhortatory contexts, no qualifier appears (see 2 Cor 13:11; 1 Thess 5:13; Rom 14:19; Eph 4:3; 6:15; Col 3:15; 2 Tim 2:22). This fact indicates that in these instances Paul commands Christians to peaceful living unconditionally. The absence of disclaimers suggests a consistent pattern of instructions for peaceful conduct.

Thirdly, the injunctions in Rom 12:9-21 surrounding the qualifier in verse 18 betray a similar unconditional vigor: ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος ("Let love be genuine," v 9a), ἀποστύγοντες τὸ πονηρὸν ("hate/abhor what is evil," v 9b), κολλώμενοι τῷ ἀγαθῷ ("hold fast to what is good," v 9c), τῇ σπουδῇ μὴ ὀκνηροί ("Do not flag in zeal," v 11), μὴ ἴνεσθε φρόνιμοι ("do not be conceited," v 16), and μὴ ἐαυτοὺς ἐκδικοῦντες ("do not avenge yourselves," v 19). In view of Paul's consistent patterns in these verses and in other Pauline literature relative to commands for peaceful living, it is reasonable to conclude that the injunction in 12:18 should be interpreted as essentially non-concessive.

Rom 12:18, then, should be viewed as unqualified in what it expects *on the part of Christian hearers*: unconditional peaceful conduct toward all. The concessive clause, "If possible, so far as it depends upon you," may have been employed by the apostle in relation to what he perceived as a precarious and arduous situation: maintaining irenic behavior in a society that condoned contention and violence. In this view, the clause does not weaken Paul's command for peaceful conduct; such behavior is to be a distinguishing mark of Christians. Rather, the qualifier may be interpreted as reflecting Paul's realization that genuine peace requires conciliatory attitudes and behavior by both interacting parties.³⁴ Christians can determine only their *own* conduct; they cannot dictate others'. If another party refuses to behave in a cooperative manner, one may have little or no control over this situation. In such a case fostering or keeping peace is, to a degree, conditional upon the behavior of the other person(s) and/or group. Hence, the purpose of the qualifier is not to diminish what is expected from believers. This interpretation is supported by Paul's strong exhortation in Rom 12:2 that Christians discern God's will and strive for what is "perfect." To pursue Christian perfection leaves no room for concessions!

The Correlation between Mercy and Peace
in Rom 12:1-2, 8, and 18

Paul's prescription for acts of mercy by those specially gifted for this ministry (12:8) can be viewed as related to his call for peaceable living in 12:18. Performing deeds of ἔλεος and οἰκτιρμός is one way of exercising ἐνῆνη: showing mercy in the face of human needs both inside and outside the community promotes peaceful interactions. To care for the sick, assist the poor, and attend to the elderly can have irenic effects upon other group members in a variety of ways. First, the exercise and reception of such kindnesses can do much to foster between dyadic givers and receivers "honorable" relations characterized by greater charity, trust, and gratitude. These attributes help diminish the discord and stresses which may prevail between persons and groups. In turn, reduction of such tensions helps promote reconciliation and nurture relationships of greater concord and peace.

Secondly, peaceful Christian living enjoined in 12:18 and in the context of 12:9-21 (see also the discussion below of 12:20) necessarily entails at least some quality of merciful conduct. Loving genuinely, extending hospitality, weeping with those who weep, associating with the lowly, feeding and giving drink to enemies, and promoting harmony and the well-being of others are qualities associated with living peaceably. These qualities closely parallel the displays of mercy called for in 12:8.

Thirdly, compassionate and irenic conduct, especially by community leaders, can promote a sense of group identity and honor (see Rom 12:10) based on values of greater charity, mercy, and peacefulness. Acts of mercy and peace (e.g., between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians) can affect positively the feelings of others, thus solidifying amicable bonds within the community. Enhanced honor and cohesion can then motivate group members to behave in ways consistent with such honor. This dynamism can, in turn, promote more compassionate, irenic intra- and inter-group relations that give way less readily to discord and hostility, which are "ways of the world."

To live with the foregoing kinds of transformed attitudes and behaviors characterized by mercy and peace is to realize tangibly the traits of authentic "spiritual" worship and renewal arising from God's mercies in 12:1-2. Such living in accord with God's will is "good and acceptable and perfect."

The Relationship between Mercy and Peace
in 12:1-2, 8, 18 and 12:19-20

The correlations between mercy and peace can be extended further by pointing out that "showing mercy" in 12:8 closely approximates the behavior Paul prescribes in 12:19-20 as a way of fostering toward enemies the quality of peaceable living required in 12:18.³⁵ Employing verbal imperatives in verses 19b and 20, Paul forbids revenge (19a), commanding that it be left to the wrath of God (19b). Then he decrees in verse 20, "if your enemies are hungry, feed them; if they are thirsty, give them something to drink" This part of verse 20 intensifies what has preceded it in verses 14-19.³⁶ Simply to abstain from inflicting harm upon another in return for harm done to oneself is insufficient. This constitutes inferior behavior (e.g., a reciprocity ethic) characteristic of periods in Jewish and Greco-Roman history.³⁷ It is a way of the world. Rather, dyadic members of the Christian community are to behave positively and charitably toward those who have wronged them. Failure to act in this manner is an oblique form of retaliation, which Paul prohibits. To "feed" and "give something to drink" are ways of being kind and merciful toward enemies. Conversely, the sorts of merciful acts urged in 12:8 help promote the peaceable, non-retaliatory living enjoined in 12:18 and 19-20.³⁸ In these contexts "showing mercy" fosters peaceable living, while irenic conduct is to issue forth in merciful deeds.

Such compassionate and pacific behavior is especially decisive in a society where the soundness of the group is largely determined by its influence on surrounding groups and by the expectations of outsiders, in this case "enemies." Christians must be at least as good as the outsiders are; in this sense, externs dictate the norm for the group.³⁹ To treat "enemies" with kindnesses shatters their customary expectations and allows for a new definition of "honor" in the Christian community based on the compassion and peacefulness enjoined by Paul as part of his announcement of the "gospel of God" (Rom 1:1). Peaceful conduct toward enemies, which whittles away divisions that separate members of the Christian community from adversarial "outsiders," counters one of the very functions of the group in Mediterranean society: binding group members together *against* externs. In this respect, what Paul advocates for the Roman Christians is truly revolutionary. It is a way to "overcome evil with good" (Rom 12:21).

This irenic and merciful behavior is another instance of the realization of "spiritual" worship, renewal of minds, and pursuit of what is good and perfect in 12:1-2. Hatred and injustice, though allowed in some social-religious circles,

for example toward dependents in Roman antiquity or toward enemies among the Essenes, are not permitted to Christians.⁴⁰ The lives of the latter are to reflect qualities of peace and mercy arising from renewed perceptions of "enemies" and from "spiritual" worship that is living, holy, and acceptable to God. Again, the complementarity between mercy and peace attains greater clarity.

Paul's exhortations, particularly for peaceable living, summon Christians to new kinds of interactions in a culture where intense expressions of emotion, aggression, and violence were commonplace, particularly among males. In this respect, the apostle's function is that of a "'limit breaker'"⁴¹ leading people to new social roles and identities. Operationally speaking, Paul's commands for peace are a call for conversion away from outbursts of anger to more consistent self-control and gentleness (cf. Gal 5:23), away from pugnacity and sadism to harmony and forbearance, and away from the infliction of suffering in the pursuit of goals toward self-restraint and benevolence. According to Paul's standards, more merciful and irenic (hence more *honorable*) conduct by a husband means greater honor for his wife and children who have honor as his dependents.⁴² Such attainment of honor from him in turn motivates them to interact in a more compassionate and less confrontational manner. Adherence to Paul's exhortations also means relief for women who were victims of injurious treatment by males. Similarly, implementation of Paul's ethical commands is especially important for Christian leaders upon whom the community depends in a significant way for its honor (or shame). Enhanced honor for the community deriving from the more merciful and irenic conduct of its leaders feasibly inspires comparable conduct by group members consonant with their "honorable" public image.

Final Conclusion

The conclusion of this essay is that showing *ἔλεος* and *οἰκτιρμός* and promoting *ἐνῳήνη* in Rom 12:1, 8, 18, and 20 are two interpenetrating facets of Paul's ethical teaching. Arising from the mercies of God revealed to Jews and Gentiles (Romans 9-11), Christians are to respond by surrendering themselves for "spiritual" worship that is living, holy, and acceptable (12:1). Believers are summoned to transformed ways of life characterized by nonconformity to the world, renewal of minds, and pursuit of what is good and perfect (12:2). These transformations imply renewed ways of perceiving and behaving toward others. Such new life arises from the prior revelation of God's justification, reconciliation, and peace (5:1, 10-11) which reflects the merciful character of God.

Paul's commands for Christian living are expressed in 12:3-21. Among

his exhortations is a call for mercy and peace as essential features of "spiritual" worship, renewal of minds, and pursuit of what is perfect. Merciful acts (12:8; also 12:20) and peaceable living (12:18; also 12:20) are expressions of the unity of believers and Christ, and believers among themselves constituting "one body in Christ" (12:5). Toward those inside and outside the community, including enemies, deeds of mercy are ingredients for peaceful living. Likewise, peaceable living is to give rise to displays of mercy.

Paul's ethical stipulations, particularly for peaceable living, summon Christians to new social roles predicated upon mercy, irenic conduct, and reconciliation in a culture where expressions of emotion and belligerence were commonplace. The call for transformed living entails new assertions about group identity, altered valuations about honorable/shameless conduct, modified patterns of social cooperation and interaction, and changed behavioral controls relative to compliance or noncompliance with Paul's admonitions. Loyal adherence to these admonitions is predicated on internalized sanctions such as feelings of shame or fear of disapproval if Paul's ethical precepts are not obeyed.⁴³ As a servant of God and the gospel (Rom 1:9), Paul remains undaunted in his exhortations to the Roman community. His hope for it is reflected in his blessing at the end of the entire section: "May the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, so that you may abound in hope by the power of the Holy Spirit" (15:13).

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NOTES

1. See Rudolf Bultmann, "ἔλεος, ἔλεεω, ἐλεημῶν, ἐλεημοσύνη, ἀνέλεος, ἀνελεήμων," 56 56 56 *TDNT* 2 (1964) 482-85; "οἰκτίρω, οἰκτιρμός, οἰκτιρῶν," *TDNT* 5 (1967) 159-61; Elizabeth R. Achtemeier, "Mercy, Merciful; Compassion; Pity," *IDB* 3 (1962) 352-54. As will be shown in the examination of the meanings of ἔλεος and οἰκτίρμος, these terms are parallel. Yet, because of (a) their existence as two distinct terms, and (b) the differentiated textual citations of ἔλεος and οἰκτιρμός in the NT as relevant to some discussions in this paper, these expressions will be written individually, though their close correlation in meaning will also be maintained as appropriate. The Greek NT employed for this paper is Kurt Aland et al., eds., *UBSGNT*, 3d corrected ed. (Stuttgart, 1983). It is also to be noted that where possible and appropriate, I have edited scriptural citations to express gender-inclusive language.

2. Consult David E. Garland, "Mercy; Merciful," *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* 3 (1986) 323.

3. Werner Foerster and Gerhard von Rad, "εἰρήνη, εἰρηνεύω, εἰρηνικός, εἰρηνοποιός, εἰρηνοποιέω," *TDNT* 2 (1964) 411-20; C. Leslie Mitton, "Peace in the NT," *IDB* 3 (1962) 706.

4. Foerster and von Rad 412-13.

5. Consult Ronald F. Youngblood, "Peace," *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* 3 (1986) 733.

6. See C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Commentary on Romans 12-13* (SJT Occasional Papers; Edinburgh; Oliver and Boyd, 1965) 4-5; Raymond Corriveau, *The Liturgy of Life: A Study of the Ethical Thought of St. Paul in His Letters to the Early Christian Communities* (Studia 25; Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1970) 155-57.

7. William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (2d ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979) 593. (subsequently designated BAGD.)

8. From 9:15 through 11:36, there are twelve occurrences of οὖν at 9:16, 18, 19, 30; 10:14; 11:1, 5, 7, 11, 13, 19, and 22.

9. C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (ICC 28; 6th ed.; Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1975-79) 256-59. See also Robert Baulès, *L'Évangile Puissance de Dieu: Commentaire de l'Épître aux Romains* (LD 53; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1968) 164-67. The *UBSGNT* assigns a C degree of certainty to its preferred reading of the present indicative ἔχομεν in 5:1, δικαιωθέντες οὖν ἐκ πίστεως εἰρήνην ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν θεόν ("Having been justified therefore by faith, we have peace with God").

The variant verb form is ἐξώμεν, the present subjunctive ("let us have," or "we may have"), the second translation of which implies a future and/or uncertain sense to the verb. Though the subjunctive form has superior external support over the indicative, the internal evidence favoring ἔχομεν takes precedence. Since it seems clear that in 5:1 Paul is stating facts and not just exhorting, the indicative mood is more appropriate for his purposes: those who have been justified consequently possess peace in the present. Since in the Hellenistic period there was a negligible distinction between the pronunciation of the Greek ο and ω, Paul's amanuensis likely wrote ἐξώμεν. See Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart:

United Bible Societies, 1971) 511 (subsequently designated *TCGNT*); Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Letter to the Romans," *NJBC* (ed. Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Roland E. Murphy; Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1990) 844. Therefore, in this essay I adhere to the present indicative reading.

10.Cranfield, *Romans 12-13* 4; Corriveau 157. It could also be argued that 12:1-2 is an introductory link to what follows it up through 15:13, and even 15:33. However, discussion of Romans 13-15 would constitute another article.

11.A. J. M. Wedderburn, *The Reasons for Romans* (Studies of the New Testament and Its World; Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1988) 81; see also Raymond E. Brown and John P. Meier, *Antioch and Rome: New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity* (New York: Paulist, 1983) 1-9, 89-127.

12.Cranfield, *Romans 12-13* 6-10; BAGD 366. For further treatment of Paul's admonitions in 12:1-2, see Victor Paul Furnish, *Theology and Ethics in Paul* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1968) 101-103 and Hans Wilhelm Schmidt, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer* (THKNT 6; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1966) 205-208.

13.Eduard Schweizer and Friedrich Baumgärtel, "σῶμα, σωματικός, σύνσωμος," *TDNT* 7 (1971) 1064-66.

14.Johannes Behm, "θῶω, θύσια, θυσιαστήριον," *TDNT* 3 (1965) 180-90; Corriveau 169-70.

15.Bruce J. Malina, "Dealing with Biblical (Mediterranean) Characters: A Guide for U.S. Consumers," *BTB* 19 (1989) 128-31, 133-35; Gerd Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity: Essays on Corinth* (ed. and trans. John H. Schutz; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982) 27-40.

16.See Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983) 90-91.

17.Bruce J. Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981) 55-56, 60-64.

18.Bruce J. Malina, "'Religion' in the World of Paul," *BTB* 16 (1986) 93-99.

19.BAGD 9; Otto Procksch, "ἅγιος, ἀγιάζω, ἁγιασμός, ἁγότης, ἁγιασθήναι," *TDNT* 1 (1964) 88-115; Cranfield, *Romans 12-13*

10.

20.Cranfield, *Romans 12-13* 10-11.

21.Max Zerwick and Mary Grosvenor, *A Grammatical Analysis of the Greek New Testament* (3d rev. ed.; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1988) 486; Cranfield, *Romans 12-13* 16-21.

22.See Wedderburn 45-62, 77-78, 91; see also Charles Homer Giblin, *In Hope of God's Glory: Pauline Theological Perspectives* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970) 224. Being renewed in mind can also be interpreted as relating forward to Paul's exhortations to the "strong" and "weak" in Romans 14-15.

23.Leland J. White, "Grid and Group in Matthew's Community: The Righteousness/Honor Code in the Sermon on the Mount," *Semeia* 35 (1986) 77; Malina, *New Testament World* 27-48.

24."Grid and Group" 78.

25.Jerome H. Neyrey, "Social Science Modeling and the New Testament," *BTB* 16 (1986) 109.

26.Cranfield, *Romans 12-13* 22; Fitzmyer 863. For a treatment of the parenetic motifs in Paul's epistles, including Romans, see Kazimierz Romaniuk, "Les Motifs Parénétiques dans les Ecrits Pauliniens," *NovT* 10 (1968) 191-207.

27.Günther Bornkamm, *Paul* (trans. D. M. G. Stalker; New York: Harper and Row, 1971) 192-95; Gerd Theissen, *Psychological Aspects of Pauline Theology* (trans. John P. Galvin; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987) 327-30.

28.*BAGD* 800; Fitzmyer 863; Schweitzer and Baumgärtel 1069-71.

29.Cranfield, *Romans 12-13* 36-37. For a further treatment of Paul's parenesis in 12:3-8, see Paul Althaus, *Der Brief an die Römer* (NTD 6; 10th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1966) 125-27.

30.Wedderburn 81-83.

31.Malina, "Dealing with Biblical (Mediterranean) Characters" 138-39; Raphael Patai, *The Arab Mind* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973) 283-85.

32.Malina, "Dealing with Biblical (Mediterranean) Characters" 136-39; Patai 160-66.

33.BAGD 227; see also Baulès 268-69 and Althaus 127-29.

34.Eugene H. Maly, *Romans* (New Testament Message 9; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1979) 102.

35.Krister Stendahl, "Hate, Non-Retaliation, and Love: I QS x, 17-20 and Rom. 12:19-21," *HTR* 55 (1962) 345.

36.Cranfield, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary* 648. Paul's use of regular verbal imperatives in verses 19b and 20 is discussed in Charles H. Talbert, "Tradition and Redaction in Romans 12:9-21," *NTS* 16 (1969) 88.

37.See PHEME PERKINS, *Love Commands in the New Testament* (New York: Paulist, 1982) 28-35. For a related treatment of Jesus' teachings on love in the NT, see Victor Paul Furnish, *The Love Command in the New Testament* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1972) 59-67.

38.Stendahl 350-51.

39.Malina, *New Testament World* 58.

40.Perkins 29-30; Luise Schottroff, "Non-Violence and the Love of One's Enemies," *Essays on the Love Commandment* (trans. Reginald H. and Ilse Fuller; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978) 17-18. Traditions among the Essenes (see 1 QS 10:17-20) and in Enoch (e.g., 2 Enoch 1:1-4) attempt to alleviate the effects of vengeance in communities. Yet, in these traditions the love enjoined toward those who enjoy good fortune even when they violate the law seems limited in its extent. The adversary against whom one is prohibited from retaliating can still be an object of hatred. Similarly, there is a clarion contrast between the teaching on love of an enemy in Romans 12 and the ethic reflected by Sophocles' Ajax: "I learnt one need not hate a foe forever;/He may become a friend" (Ajax 678-79). See Lionel Pearson, *Popular Ethics in Ancient Greece* (Stanford: University Press, 1962) 193; Perkins 67. Similarly, Paul's teachings in Rom 12:17-19a against reprisals abrogate a former principle of *lex talionis* in Exod 21:24, Lev 24:20, and Deut 19:21.

In Rom 12:19, Paul enjoins his hearers, "do not avenge yourselves, but leave it to the wrath of God." Then he cites Deut 32:35a in the same verse, "'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, says the Lord.'" Cranfield interprets this verse to mean

that though the flavor of the OT is reflected in Rom 12:19, Paul's words are to be understood in view of all that he has said in the preceding sections of the letter. Paul's admonitions here are not intended to limit non-retaliation and peaceable living to members of one's own religious community. The expressions ἐνώπιον πάντων ἀνθρώπων (literally, "before all men," or "in the sight of all," v 17) and μετὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων (literally "with all men," v 18) signify that Paul's exhortations are to apply universally. Thus, the sanction against revenge and the charge to peaceful living are no longer confined to their restrictions in Judaism but are now universal. The wrath (ὀργή) of God in verse 19b is chiefly eschatological (BAGD 579). According to Cranfield (*Romans: A Shorter Commentary* [Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1985] 315-16), to give place to this wrath is to leave vengeance to God knowing that God exercises wrath with the primary purpose of healing.

Fitzmyer (*NJBC* 863) interprets Rom 12:19b to mean that the Christian is to allow for God's (eschatological) wrath which will be revealed against sin. Consequently, Christians are to seek the good and leave the compensation for evil to God. Since εἰρήνη and ἔλεος both have eschatological meanings, Cranfield's and Fitzmyer's interpretations are valid here.

41.Neyrey 110.

42.White 77.

43.See Neyrey 109. In conclusion, I wish to express my gratitude to Drs. Richard Thompson and Julian Hills for their valuable insights and thoughtful criticisms during the composition of this essay.

P.M. Casey. *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God: The Origins and Development of New Testament Christology*. The Edward Cadbury Lectures at the University of Birmingham, 1985-86. Cambridge, England: James Clarke & Co.; Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991. Pp. 197. £22.50.

An Introduction to a Discussion with Dr Maurice Casey about his Recent Book
by J.C.O'Neill

British New Testament Conference, Exeter

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Dr Maurice Casey is right; we do not yet possess "a coherent and convincing account of the origins and development of New Testament christology" (9). The task is daunting, for anyone who would dare to put forward such an account would have to be well versed in the thought of Judaism at the time as well as thoroughly at home in at least the Synoptic Gospels, John, Acts, Paul and Hebrews. Dr Casey is fully up to the task and, and even more important, he knows what it is to argue a case. His book is packed with close argument and plenty of pertinent evidence.

His thesis is this. Jesus and the apostles were Jews by all the tests. Jesus did not think that he was attacking the Law of Moses, whatever his opponents, who put a new and increasing emphasis on practical rules of behaviour, may have thought. Jesus did not use any recognizable Messianic titles of himself, and thought of himself as a prophet and teacher. Peter's confession, "You are the Messiah", was impossible on Jewish lips and must have been made up by the church, for no Jew used Messiah without some additional specifying words to refer to the expected Davidic king. The words of Jesus' enemies reported in Mark 15.32, "Let the Messiah the King of Israel come down now from the cross" are authentic because they employ the necessary specifying words (43-4). Jesus preached in expectation of the imminent coming of the Kingdom, and in the event the Kingdom he expected did not come. Jesus embodied prophetic Judaism. The aim of his preaching was to bring back all Israel to the Lord. The tightly-knit ascetic band of apostles recognized him as offering them "the spiritual centre of Judaism" (73) which they in turn were to offer others; "he was the embodiment of Judaism itself" (74). Jesus thought of his death as atoning for the sins of his people in the way the Maccabean martyrs had thought of their death; "Jesus' death...was to be an expiatory sacrifice which assuaged the wrath of God and enabled him to redeem Israel despite her faults" (65). I agree entirely with all this, except for the assertion that no one could refer to the Messiah, meaning the coming Davidic king, by just the one word "Messiah". But I completely agree that Jesus himself did not use any words to claim either explicitly or implicitly that he was that Messiah. Like Dr Casey I

find all attempts to show that Jesus either broke the Law or taught his disciples to break the Law - whether the dietary laws or the sabbath laws or the law about honouring father and mother - are unconvincing.

Dr Casey's first thesis, then, is that Jesus and the apostles were Jews in the prophetic tradition.

His second thesis is that Judaism itself had a tendency to take figures (like Enoch, Moses and David) or abstract ideas (like Wisdom and Word) or angels and to give them a higher and higher status or function; for example, Enoch is made pre-existent and is to exercise God's prerogatives of judgment, Wisdom and the Word are personified and made into mediators between God and humanity, and Michael intercedes for Israel. In two particular cases, the case of Enoch and of Wisdom, this process is carried out by a subgroup of Israel under the pressure of circumstance and in meeting their need to maintain group identity. It follows that "the nature of the development of these Jewish figures should lead us to expect that the figure of Jesus would be developed in accordance with the needs of the early Christian community" (92). Dr Casey concedes that sometimes the Jewish intermediary figures were called "the second God" or "God and King" as Philo called the Logos or Moses, and as 11QMelchizedek called Melchizedek. We should not take this too seriously; "Philo did not believe in two Gods" (85). However, there were players "on the Fringe", the second century heretics who held that there were two powers in heaven and the writer of the Prayer of Joseph quoted by Origen. There are also the Samaritans to whom Professor Michael Goulder has drawn our attention, who held Simon Magus to be "The power of God called Great". Documents holding these views should, according to Dr Casey, "be used only to illuminate christological development as it is found in the epistle to the Hebrews and in the Johannine community, whose Jews assimilated outside of Judaism. They should not be used in any simple way to illustrate what might happen in the earliest stage of christological development, when Christianity was still a purely Jewish group within Judaism" (92).

Dr Casey's second thesis is that Jewish groups were assigning divine attributes to figures important for their group identity.

His third thesis is that at Jesus' death the community of disciples needed to affirm his heavenly vindication. Like other communities of faithful Jews under pressure, they produced a new belief in the mode of heavenly vindication (101-102), in this case by experiencing appearances of Jesus and by interpreting scripture. One source of this belief in a new mode of heavenly vindication came

from Jesus himself: "Resurrection is an interpretation of the form of vindication which Jesus predicted for himself" (102). In his saying that a son of man would rise on the third day, Jesus had meant at the general resurrection, but the disciples applied it in particular to him and could well have taken it to imply only appearances and not the empty tomb, even though the general resurrection was agreed to be bodily (51-52 for Mark 8.31; 98-105). To quote Dr Casey, this saying "said nothing of the fate of Jesus' body, and it is so general as to be consistent with the assumption that his tomb was empty and with the assumption that it was not" (103). I wonder. Resurrection - bodily resurrection - is a well-established Jewish mode of vindication as is shown by Rev 11.3-12 and by the reports that Jesus was John the Baptist risen from the dead. See Klaus Berger's large book on the subject, *Die Auferstehung des Propheten und die Erhöhung des Menschensohnes* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976). Is there any comparable Jewish statement that God has raised or will raise someone from the dead that does not imply the resurrection of the body? It is true that Jews believed in life after death, but the appearances of those who have died, such as Samuel's appearance to Saul at the behest of the witch of Endor, or the appearance of Moses and Elijah at the transfiguration are not said to be cases of God's raising people from the dead. Figures who are said to come up from Hades and ascend from earth to heaven (as in T. Ben 9.5) are not said to have risen from the dead. Dr Casey concedes that Paul may have believed that the tomb was empty (104), but he repeats the old story that 1 Cor 15.3ff. speaks only of appearances and not of the empty tomb. Surely ἐτάφη in 1 Cor 15.4 entails the resurrection of the body. Why else use the word "buried" in addition to the word ἀπέθανεν, "he died"?

Dr Casey's third thesis goes on to affirm that the disciples also immediately applied to Jesus some terms that were available in their tradition and gave him some functions of the intermediary figures. Their interest had shifted from the proclamation of the Kingdom to the proclamation of Jesus (107). A title for him was highly desirable. As he was regarded as superior to the prophets (who were occasionally called "anointed ones"), and as there was no high priest on the scene to confuse the issue about which anointed one was meant, "the Messiah" became available as the simple title for the future Davidic king. Judaism itself, after the destruction of the Temple and the discrediting of the priesthood followed the same path and adopted Messiah as a title. "Lord", a way of addressing angels, could also be used for the heavenly Jesus, as in the Aramaic prayer maranatha. In fact "the widespread expectation of a redeemer figure was shifted straight on to him [Jesus]" (107). Other terms for describing an outstandingly religious man, like servant, holy one, and saviour were given to Jesus (106). The Last Supper was developed into the eucharist and baptism

was introduced as a way of initiation.

Dr Casey's third thesis has argued that the church got under way as a Jewish movement developing according to the needs of the first Christians to preserve their identity.

His fourth thesis is that when the church began to contain Gentiles in significant numbers the process of development of the language about Jesus could go even further towards divinity without, however, breaching the monotheism the Jews among the Christians brought with them as an essential part of their Jewish identity. Paul inherited two hymns in which Jesus is said to have existed before his birth and even to have been the agent of creation, and in which Jesus is said to have been exalted to a position "on the verge of deity" (114, 116). These hymns are Phil 2.6-11 and Col 1.15-20. For example, in Phil 2.9 Jesus is given the name above every name, which means that he "has been very highly exalted, quite unlike any other person" - yet not equated with God the Father nor made into a second deity (113). Gentiles might begin to read this language as asserting the deity of Jesus, but Jews would not and Paul did not.

Dr Casey's fourth thesis, then, is intriguing because he does not, like his erstwhile Nottingham colleague, Professor James Dunn, deny that in the Philippian hymn Jesus is believed to have existed before his birth, but he does agree with Professor Dunn that Paul's hymns do not assume the incarnation of God. Paul probably even called Jesus God, in Rom 9.3-5, but this should be seen in the light of the similar odd remarks of Philo, a climactic remark but not one to be repeated (135). Paul, however, as an assimilating Jew, did introduce a rather shocking feature to Christianity by making morals depend on baptism into Christ's death instead of on obedience to God's Law as given by Moses (127, 128-9, 137, 165).

Dr Casey's fifth and final thesis is to explain how Jesus was eventually said to be God incarnate. This happened in the Johannine community when it was expelled from Judaism. This community was half-Jewish, half-Gentile and they had abandoned all other marks of Jewish identity except for some adherence to scripture (as witnessing to Jesus, not as prescribing behaviour) and some adherence to monotheism (in that the deity of Jesus was seen from a Gentile point of view as not breaching monotheism even if from a Jewish point of view it did). They were able to make this final elevation of Jesus to deity because the residual bonds with monotheistic Judaism were broken from the Jewish side by their expulsion from the synagogues. From henceforth the Johannine community labelled all Jesus' opponents as simply "the Jews".

Those are Dr Casey's five theses: Jesus was a Jewish prophet who never claimed to be Messiah; Judaism was in the process of divinizing many figures from the past; this process began with Jesus as soon as he was crucified; with more Gentiles entering the church the process could go to the verge of divinity without sacrificing monotheism; and the Johannine community, expelled from Judaism, made the final move whereby Jesus became a Gentile God.

Dr Casey rightly believes that these theses, if they are true, demand a radical change in Christianity; not for him the comfortable insulation of scholarly work from the ordinary commitments of life. He argues that "if Christianity is to remain a viable option for honest and well-informed people, it should surely undo that process of development, and emerge as something nearer to the religion of Jesus of Nazareth" (178). At the end of the process of development that Dr Casey posits "Jesus was ... a figure so elevated that observant Jews such as Jesus of Nazareth and the first apostles could not believe in him" (159). That seems to me well said. Unless Jesus knew himself to be God incarnate, we can hardly treat him as such; it would be very odd to worship someone who would have repudiated that worship.

I have two questions to put to Dr Casey. The first is this. If, as he says, there was widespread expectation of a redeemer figure (107), and if Jesus' mockers thought he was a false Messiah, why did not the possibility occur to Jesus and his disciples that he was in fact the true Messiah, the King of Israel? As a subsidiary question to the main question, can we be so sure no Jew had hitherto used the term Messiah as a title to refer to the coming Davidic King? Professor Marinus de Jonge's work seems to have exerted a strong influence here, but is it right to ignore the use of "his Messiah" in CD ii.12 and in 1 Enoch 48.10 and 52.4, or to play down "their King, Christ the Lord" in Ps Sol 17.32? (I am aware that most scholars adopt conjectural emendations of the manuscript readings in the passages from the Damascus Document and the Psalms of Solomon; even if we amend Ps Sol 17.32 to "their King, the Lord's Christ", we still have "Christ" standing almost alone.)

My first question, then, is, Are there really such insuperable difficulties in the way of supposing that Jesus acted consciously as Messiah? His silence about the matter can perhaps be explained by the law that the Messiah was forbidden to say who he was until the Father made it known. John perhaps correctly reports Jewish belief in the words, "We have a law, and by that law he ought to die, because *he has made himself the Son of God*" (John 19.7). I have argued that "No one knows the Son save the Father" is a legal gloss to a saying of Jesus, a gloss that accurately sums up Jewish law on the question (Matt

11.25-27; Luke 10.21-22, in the Moule Festschrift, *The Trial of Jesus* edited by E. Bammel (London: SCM, 1970)). These are side issues; the main question is, Why, according to Dr Casey, were Jesus and his disciples so isolated from being deeply affected by the key question that was agitating Jews at the time: When would the Messiah appear, and how would he be recognized when he came? John the Baptist's very question, which Dr Casey accepts as genuine (61), implies this expectation, and "he who should come" is loaded messianic language (Mal 3.1; Dan 7.13; 1 Cor 16.22; Heb 10.37; Rev 1.4; 22.12,20).

My second question is about Dr Casey's assumption that Jewish monotheism had no place for the sort of language John uses of Jesus. We must notice that Dr Casey is very careful to say that the Gentile Christians who used this language did not themselves think they were giving up monotheism. To that extent, the title of his book is misleading. When Christians said Jesus was God they were not saying he was a god in a Gentile sense; they always maintained that he was the second person of the Trinity, of a tri-unity. This shows that they were very much under the influence of Judaism; in fact, still bound by its key confession that the Lord our God is one Lord. My question is this: Why is Dr Casey so sure that there were not Jews before Jesus who had already come to believe that the Messiah, when he was born, would be the incarnate Son of God who had existed with the Spirit, three-in-one from the beginning? He allows Philo and the author of 11QMelchizedek to speak of heavenly figures as God, but he puts out of court, as too late to count, the heresy of the two powers in heaven. But do we not have evidence that Philo, a contemporary of Jesus, quotes two-power passages? From these passages it is clear that the two-power heresy was a trinitarian belief: the one in the middle is the Father of the universe; the beings on each side are his creative power and his royal power (De Abrahamo 119-122); it is reasonable for one to be three and three to be one - the single appears as a triad, and the triad as a unity (Qu in Gen iv.2.; cf. iv.4, 87; De cher 27-30; De sacr Ab et Cain 59-60; De somn i.160-165; De Vit Mos ii.48,99-100; De spec leg i.307; Qu in Gen ii.16,51,75; iii.39,42; Qu in Ex ii.62,64-66). To the objection that these trinitarian passages do not entail an incarnation I can call upon another place in Philo that Dr Casey himself mentions, De agric 51 (85), where God's right Word and first-born Son is said to be sent as a messenger before the great king in accordance with Ex 23.20. And is it so certain that the one who is called "Anointed of the Spirit" in 11QMelchizedek line 18 (if we are supplying the correct letters) is subordinate to Melchizedek (42)? Melchizedek, who is called El and Elohim, is said, according to Psalm 7 as cited in the passage, to have returned on high (line 11). Does not returning on high imply a descent to the earth? There, according to Isaiah 52.7, he was the herald of his own subsequent exultation. As incarnate

and ascended, his title was "Messiah of the Spirit".

My second and final question may be put in the form, If, as Dr Casey himself argues, so much of the development of christology, right up to the last Johannine touch, was done according to patterns already well established in Judaism, why should we not suspect that the developments had already taken place in Judaism before Jesus was born?

Dr Casey has done us service by insisting that Jesus be seen as a faithful Jew and by reminding us of the heavenly visions of exulted figures like the Word and Melchizedek. His case fails because he tries to imagine a Jesus who "worked with massive personal authority" (68) and who appointed twelve to reign and to judge (Matt 19.28; Luke 22.30) (68) but who was not Messiah, and because he misses the actual trinitarian and incarnational passages (there are more than I have mentioned) to be found in the Jewish sources before Jesus.

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rev. in light of PMC's reply on the 19th:
22 September, 1992.

Sharon Pace Jeansonne: *The Women of Genesis* (Fortress, 1990)

Phyllis Trible is a hard act to follow! Somehow her *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality* (1978) and *Texts of Terror* (1984) spoil the reader - or at least this one - and set a standard that is a challenge for many other writers and scholars to reach. Trible has a sure, but also light touch, as she marries together rhetorical or narrative criticism with a feminist perspective.

By comparison Jeansonne's *The Women of Genesis* feels good - but not that good. It's not a bad book, and there certainly are 'bad' books written by women scholars on the Old Testament. But it feels laboured, not light, taking a comparatively long space of time to say comparatively little. I note that a previous reviewer has commented on the back cover: 'There are insights in this book that are just brilliant' - I would concur with that, but want to add that they are fairly few and far between. The insight of Jeansonne which struck me most forcefully was that in the story of Sarah, where she points out the rarity and significance of the phrase used for 'spring' in the promise of Isaac's birth. I am sure that she has something important here, and in fact wish she had made more of it. There are several other points where she picks up important word linkages which give a fresh dimension to the story, though not all of these insights stem entirely from her. But for Jeansonne, narrative criticism seems to focus on the actual words: Trible goes so much further as she looks at the intricate weave and pattern of sentence structure. However, Jeansonne is good in her comments on the unresolved ambiguities of several of the narratives : for example, does the narrator sympathize with the sons of Jacob or with the Canaanites in Genesis 34? I would see in Jeansonne a good literary critic in the making - but one who hasn't quite got there just yet. Both Jeansonne and Trible (in *Texts of Terror*) give us a study of the story of Hagar: Trible manages to convey and allow us to empathize with Hagar's pain in a way which seems to be beyond Jeansonne.

I do not quibble with Jeansonne's major thesis that the stories of Genesis 12 - 50 are not simply stories of the patriarchs. As she makes clear, there are many women who also feature in the account. She also notes, quite valuably, just how significant a role infertility plays in the story - not simply in the case of Sarah, but also Rebekah and Rachel too. That is a theme that could repay further exploration. I find myself less convinced by what seems to be Jeansonne's underlying agenda: to show that when the stories are read as the biblical author wished them to be, we find that the women are far less passive than we have often assumed. There may be some instances when this is so, eg she has some useful comments on the encounter between Rebekah and Isaac's servant. But frequently it feels like a piece of special pleading, which Jeansonne often finds herself having to qualify, and leads to a certain tediousness in her writing.

While reading the book the words 'flat' and 'monochrome' kept occurring to me, and I asked myself why. It is, I believe, because the picture of Genesis that Jeansonne has given us is one-sided, and that onesidedness actually distorts the image. The onesidedness of which I speak is not her necessary emphasis on 'women' as opposed to 'men', but rather that she has, perhaps inevitably, given little or no attention to the numinous quality of much of Genesis. The encounters with the divine give a depth of meaning to the biblical book and charge it with a grandeur and a significance for us today. Jeansonne includes, for example, in the story of Dinah, a study of Jacob's encounter with Esau in Genesis 33. But that meeting between Jacob and his estranged brother cannot fully be understood without a consideration of Jacob's struggle with the divine stranger the previous night - which is nowhere mentioned by Jeansonne. A telling omission.

But perhaps the most striking omission of all is the first woman of Genesis - Eve. Jeansonne restricts her scope to the women who appear between Genesis 12 - 50. She announces that she is doing so, and there may well be good reasons for her choice. But perceptive commentators have noticed many links between Genesis 2 - 3, and the later stories of the patriarchs and matriarchs. They resonate against each other and, I believe, can act as mutually helpful hermeneutical tools. In view of Jeansonne's stated belief that narrative critics 'develop not only an individual narrative, but also...deliberately link it with other stories in the larger context for a distinctive design' (p.3) it is a strange and perhaps unfortunate omission. As an example of this, we could note the comparatively rare phrase "Shama' L'Qol = Listen to the voice of" which is used to describe Abraham's acquiescence with Sarah's plans to use Hagar as a surrogate. It is also used (by God) to describe the way in which Adam falls in with Eve's suggestion to eat the fruit. Perhaps it is suggestive that the one situation can inform our interpretation of the other. If so, it is certain that, for better or worse, the voice of Eve is a significant one in Genesis, and one to which we too should be listening!

Clare Amos, Canterbury.

Graham N. Stanton, *A Gospel for a New People. Studies in Matthew*, (T&T Clark, Edinburgh, 1992). pp. x-xiv, 1-424.

In the Introduction, Professor Graham Stanton gives us a chapter which sketches briefly his views on the setting and purpose of Matthew's Gospel. He considers that, although the evangelist did not provide his writing with a title, he does refer to it as 'this Gospel' (24:24, 26:13) and the people for whom he wrote are deemed to be a 'new people' (21:43). He wrote after a prolonged dispute and hostility with fellow-Jews. They share the same scriptures and convictions, but

differences are considerable. Eventually it ended up in a mutual hostility and a 'clear parting of the ways' (p.2).

The evangelist has various strategies in mind: setting out the story and significance of Jesus as a basic document for his readers with the primary aims being christological and catechetical; trying to account for the parting of the ways by laying blame on the Jewish leaders, explaining reasons for Israel's continuing and virtual total rejection of the Messiah and defending the emergence of a 'new people' as a distinct religious entity over against Judaism. While the 'new people' carefully distinguishes itself from the parent body, Matthew believes that the disciples of Jesus are heirs to the promises of God; he is also concerned to stress the continuities and similarities with Judaism. There is no over-riding concern which provides the key to Matthew. Matthew writes with broad catechetical and pastoral concerns. 'He sets out the story and significance of Jesus in order to assist Christians to come to terms with their identity as communities distinct from Judaism.' (p.3)

After the introduction, Professor Stanton divides up his material into three parts: Part i: 'Methods Old and New' (23-110); Part ii: 'The Parting of the Ways' (113-281); Part iii: 'Studies in Matthew' (285-383).

The author insists on appropriate methods for serious study of Matthew and its inter-relationship where he calls into question methods that do not use redaction criticism. In chapter 2 he examines the strengths and weaknesses of redaction criticism but insists 'it is an essential tool for serious study of Matthew's Gospel'. (p.5f) In his discussion of literary critical methods, he makes an important distinction 'between literary methods which take seriously the first century setting of Matthew's Gospel, and those which do not.' (ch.3). In chapter 4, using sociological insights, he points out that Matthew's Gospel 'is a sophisticated writing which legitimates the painful separation of sectarian Christian communities which have been in prolonged conflict with Judaism.' (p.6) He uses the *Damascus Document* as a helpful analogy.

In Part i 'the conflict of Jesus and his followers with the Jewish leaders is a central feature,' (p.110). In Part ii, 'the Parting of the Ways', Dr Stanton discards as untenable the traditional view that Matthew wrote before AD 70 while he and his readers saw themselves as still within Judaism; or that the evangelist himself was a Gentile Christian for whom the relationship of church and synagogue was not a primary concern. He prefers the view that Matthew's Gospel was written in the wake of a recent parting from Judaism with the evangelist *extra muros* (113-114). In chapter 6 he suggests that Matthew strengthens still further the anti-Jewish polemic which is found in a source at his disposal, an emphasis related to the prominence he gives to apocalyptic themes.

In chapter 7, the writer deals with Christology and its relation to the parting of the ways, arguing that the accusations of being a magician and

deceiver are related to Jewish polemic and almost certainly reflect the situation of the evangelist's day. As to 'praying that your flight may not be in Winter or on a Sabbath' (Mt 24:20), the Matthaean community was afraid that such a flight would only provoke further hostility from some Jewish leaders and therefore such flight was to be avoided if possible. On the interpretation of Mt 25: 31-46, it is contended that it is 'a final consolation to the recipients of the Gospel. God's enemies will not have the last word, for they will be judged on the basis of their treatment of the brothers of the Son of Man, however insignificant.' (p.229)

In the final section (Part iii), the writer has brought together some contributions which have appeared elsewhere eg. 'Interpreting the Sermon on the Mount' or 'The Origin and Purpose of the Sermon on the Mount' or 'Matthew's Use of the Old Testament'.

All in all, Professor Stanton has dealt carefully and thoughtfully with a wide range of Matthaean topics. The reader will be grateful for the conclusions that are drawn up at the end of each section and for the gentle but firm way he offers his opinion.

It is a volume that will repay careful study.

E. A. Russell.

William S. Campbell, *Paul's Gospel in an Intercultural Context*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991. pp.213. ISBN: 3-631-42981-9.

It is a pleasure to review this new book from Dr Campbell. He has been a student of Paul since his undergraduate days with many important articles and lectures on Paul to his credit. This book reprints some of those earlier contributions and adds 3 major new chapters which bring the reader up to date on some recent important issues.

The articles which have been published in earlier years include 'Why did Paul write Romans?', 'Romans iii as a Key to the Structure and Thought of the Letter', 'The Freedom and Faithfulness of God in Relation to Israel: Romans 9:11', 'Christ the End of the Law: Romans 10:4' and 'Christianity and Judaism: Continuity and Discontinuity' and since the latest of these appeared in 1984 they have had time to have been discussed in the ongoing literature on Paul and Romans and so will not be taken up here.

His two latest articles, 'Paul's Missionary Practice and Policy in Romans' and 'Did Paul advocate Separatism from the Synagogue?', together with his three new chapters 'Religious Identity and Ethnic Origin in the Earliest Christian Communities', 'Paul's Strategy in Writing Romans' and 'A Theme for Romans?' are useful attempts to dialogue with recent literature on some contemporary

issues in Pauline studies.

In his chapter on 'Paul's Missionary Practice and Policy in Romans' Dr Campbell argues that 'we must interpret Paul's statements about mission in Romans in the light of the context out of which the letter originated and to which it was addressed. Dr Campbell, therefore, wants to draw attention both to the situation at Rome and also to 'some factor in the mission or situation of Paul himself that is somehow intimately connected with, or influenced by, the situation of the Roman Christians'. The situation in Rome involved the divisions within the Christian community in Rome between the 'weak' and the 'strong' which Dr Campbell considers may refer to both to differences of origin and also divisions between Jewish and Gentile Christians.

The context in Paul's life included the fact that Paul was writing at a time after the concordat about respecting separate mission areas and spheres of work had been operative and also at the time when Paul felt that he had to expand his mission to the West, to go to Rome and then on to Spain. Although the Gospel had already been preached in Rome and he did not want to be accused of building on another's foundation, by preaching there, logistics left him little choice as he could not achieve the pioneering work of evangelizing in Spain without first setting up a base in Rome. If, however, Paul was going to have such a firm base, then he had to deal with one of the important issues in the Roman congregations, that of the position of the Jews in God's plan of salvation. He does this by moving beyond the view of the older missionaries that Israel must be restored *prior* to the coming in of the Gentiles, but arguing that 'this revision of priorities does not signify complete and utter despair over Israel'. Paul argues strongly that in fact the ultimate destination of Israel is still the object of God's providential purpose.

The chapter on 'Did Paul advocate Separatism from the Synagogue?' resulted from an extended review of Francis Watson's book *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles: A Sociological Approach* (CUP 1986) and argues Dr Campbell's thesis that in Romans Paul's strategy is not to seek the separation of church and synagogue, but rather to seek the social reorientation of both Jewish and Gentile Christians through the Gospel.

This theme of Paul's attitude to Judaism and whether he saw it superseded by a 'third entity', Christianity as E. P. Sanders puts it, is taken up again in several other essays, particularly in the one entitled 'Religious Identity and Ethnic Origin in the Earliest Christian Communities' where again Dr Campbell argues very persuasively that Paul advocated pluralism within the church and that this pluralism included groups of Jewish Christians who wished to, and who were permitted to, continue to live a Jewish life style after they became Christians.

It is impossible to do justice to the contents of this book in a short

review. The reader comes upon important discussions of Pauline themes on almost every page. It is, however, a book that is not easy to read. It is clearly more than simply a book of collected essays but its history and format do not allow it to develop a thesis in as straightforward a manner as would have been the case in a book written from scratch. Themes are dealt with symphonically (as in James), with the author returning to the more important ones several times. In helping to track down these themes it would have been of immeasurable help to the reader if a full subject and Biblical index had been provided.

This book makes a very valuable contribution to the present debate on important issues concerning Paul and the Gospel he preached and will be an important source of information for students trying to understand those issues as well as essential reading for those who would contribute to it.

J. C. McCullough.

For those living in the United Kingdom, this book is available from *Chapter One Bookshop, Selly Oak, Birmingham 29.*